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THE INFLUENCE OF ORAL EROTISM ON CHARACTER-FORMATION [1]

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According to the usual view the formation of character is to be traced back partly to inherited dispositions, and partly to the effect of environment, under which a particular significance is ascribed to up-bringing. Psycho-analytical investigation, however, has drawn attention to sources of character-formation which had not previously been sufficiently considered. On the basis of psycho-analytical experience we conclude that those elements of the infantile sexuality which are excluded from participation in the sexual life of the adult individual undergo transformation to some extent into certain character-traits. Freud, as is well known, was the first to show that certain elements of infantile anal erotism suffer this fate. Some part of the anal erotism enters into the final organization of mature sexual life, part of it undergoes sublimation, and the rest finds an outlet in character-formation. These contributions to character from anal sources are to be regarded as normal. They render it possible for the individual to adapt himself to the demands of his environment as regards cleanliness, love of order, and so on. Besides this, however, we have learnt to recognize an 'anal character' in the clinical sense, which is distinguished by an extreme accentuation of certain character-traits; but it is to be noted that excessive addiction to cleanliness, parsimony and similar

[1] Read before the Eighth Congress of the International Psycho-Analytical Association, Salzburg, 1924.

tendencies never succeeds completely. We invariably find the opposite extreme more or less strongly developed.

Now experience teaches us that not all the deviations from the final character-formation of the genital stage of development originate in the anal sources just mentioned. On the contrary, oral erotism has been recognized as a source of character-formation as well. Here, too, we can perceive that a certain amount of this falls within normal bounds, and that outside this there are distinctly abnormal degrees of accentuation of it. If our observations are correct, then we can speak of oral, anal, and genital sources of character-formation ; in doing so, however, we quite consciously neglect one aspect of the problem, because we are only taking into consideration those contributions to the formation of character derived from the erotogenic zones, and not those coming from the component-instincts. This neglect is, however, more apparent than real ; for example, the close connection of the component of cruelty in infantile instinctual life with oral erotism makes itself evident in character-formation, so that it is hardly necessary to draw special attention to it.

What my investigations lead me to say about character-traits of oral origin will perhaps be disappointing in some respects, because I cannot offer a picture comparable in completeness to that of the anal character. I shall point, therefore, to certain differences between them which should not be lost sight of, and which will be calculated to reduce expectations to more appropriate proportions.

First of all, it should be remembered that of the pleasurable tendencies that are connected with intestinal processes only a small part can come to form part of normal erotism in an *unrepressed* form. In contrast to this, an incomparably greater part of the libidinal cathexis of the mouth which characterizes infancy can still find application in later life. Thus the oral elements in infantile sexuality do not need to be absorbed by character-formation or sublimation to the same extent as the anal ones.

Further, it should be emphasized that a retrograde transformation of character such as is connected with the outbreak of certain nervous disturbances may to a great extent come to a stop at the anal stage. If it proceeds further and a pathological intensification of oral traits, which will be described later, ensues, then this latter will show an admixture of others belonging to the anal stage. We should always, therefore, expect to find combinations of the two kinds of traits rather than a pure culture of oral characteristics.

If we now proceed more deeply into the study of such mixed products of two different sources of character-formation we are enabled to recognize something new. We learn that the origin of the anal character is interwoven in the closest manner with the fate of the oral erotism, and cannot be completely understood without reference to this connection.

Clinical experience led Freud to the view that in many people the particular libidinal emphasis on the intestinal processes is constitutionally founded. There can be no doubt about the correctness of this view. We need only call to mind how in certain families positive phenomena of anal erotism as well as anal character-traits infallibly reveal themselves in the most different members. Nevertheless, however well-founded this view may be, we have another to put beside it; it arises from the following considerations founded on psycho-analytic experience.

An intense pleasure in the act of sucking is a feature of infancy. We have familiarized ourselves with the view that this pleasure is not to be ascribed entirely to the process of taking food, but that it is conditioned in a high degree by the significance of the mouth as an erotogenic zone.

This primitive way of obtaining pleasure is never completely abandoned by human beings; on the contrary, it persists under all kinds of disguises during the whole of life, and even experiences a reinforcement at times in particular circumstances. Nevertheless, the growth of the child, both physically and mentally, involves a far-reaching renunciation of the original pleasure in sucking. Now observation shows that every such renunciation of pleasure only takes place by way of an exchange. It is just this process of renunciation and the course it takes under different conditions which merits our attention.

Reference must first be made to the process of the irruption of teeth which, as is well known, replaces a considerable part of the pleasure in sucking by pleasure in biting. It is sufficient to call to mind how during this stage of development the child puts every object it can into its mouth and tries with all its strength to bite it to bits.

In the same period of development ambivalence in the relations of the child to objects of the outer world is set up. It is to be noted that the friendly as well as the hostile aspect of this attitude is connected with pleasure. At about the same period a further displacement of pleasurable sensation to other bodily functions and areas occurs.

A particularly significant fact is that the pleasure in sucking makes a kind of journey. At about the time that the child is being weaned it is being trained in habits of bodily cleanliness. An important prerequisite for the success of this process lies in the gradually developing function of the anal and urethral sphincters. The action of these muscles is the same as that of the lips in sucking, and is obviously imitated from the latter. At first the unchecked voiding of bodily excretions was accompanied by stimulation of the apertures of the body which was undoubtedly pleasurable. When the child adapts itself to the demands of training and learns to retain its excretions this new activity also is at once accompanied by pleasure. The pleasurable sensations in the organ connected with this process form the foundation upon which the mental pleasure in retention of every kind of possession is gradually built up. More recent investigations have shown that the possession of an object originally signified to the infantile mind the same thing as the result of incorporation of it into the body. There was to begin with only the one kind of pleasure, that connected with taking in something coming from without or with expelling bodily contents; henceforth there is added to this the pleasure in retaining bodily contents, which leads to pleasure in all forms of property. The relation in which these three sources of physical and mental gratification stand to one another is of the greatest practical significance for the later social conduct of the individual. If the pleasure in getting or taking is brought into the most favourable relation with the pleasure in possession, as well as with that of rendering up the possession, then an exceedingly important step is made in laying the foundations of the individual's social relations. When the most favourable relationship between these three tendencies has been established it constitutes the most important preliminary condition for overcoming the ambivalence of the emotional life.

In the preceding remarks attention has been called only to single traits out of a multiform developmental process. For the purpose of our investigation it is sufficient to make clear that the first and perhaps most important step towards a later normal conduct in social as well as sexual relationships consists in dealing successfully with oral erotism. But there are numerous possibilities that this important process of development may suffer disturbance.

If we wish to understand these disturbances we need only again call to mind that the pleasure of the sucking period is to a great extent a pleasure in taking in, in getting something. It then becomes

apparent that any quantitative divergence from the usual degree of pleasure gained can give occasion for a disturbance.

The sucking period can be rich in ' pain ' and poor in pleasure for the child to an unusual degree, and this will depend on the particular circumstances in which the child was fed. In such circumstances the child's earliest pleasurable craving is gratified imperfectly, the blissfulness of the sucking stage is not sufficiently enjoyed. Freud made it clear long ago that stomach and bowel troubles in infancy can have a harmful effect on the mental development of the child.

In other cases the same period is abnormally rich in pleasure. It is well known how some mothers indulge the craving for pleasure in their infants by granting them every wish. The result then is an extraordinary difficulty in weaning the child, which sometimes cannot be successfully accomplished until two or three years have elapsed. In rare cases the child persists in taking food by sucking from a bottle almost up to adult age.

Whether the child in this early period of life had to go without pleasure or was indulged with an excess of pleasure, the effect is the same. The child takes leave of the sucking stage under difficulties. Because its need for pleasure was either not sufficiently gratified or had become too insistent, its craving fastens with particular intensity on the possibilities of pleasure during the next stage. In doing this it finds itself in constant danger of a new disappointment, to which it will react with an increased tendency to regression to the earlier stage. In other words : In the child who was disappointed or over-indulged in the sucking period the pleasure in biting, which is also the most primitive form of sadism, will be especially emphasized. Thus the commencement of the formation of character in such a child takes place under the influence of an abnormally pronounced ambivalence. In practice such a disturbance of the development of character expresses itself in pronounced hostile and jealous traits. Abnormally overdeveloped envy, which is so common, finds its explanation here. The origin of this character-trait in an oral source has already been alluded to by Eisler [2] ; I fully agree with his view, but would like to emphasize its relation to the later oral stage. In many cases an elder child, who is already at the stage of taking food by biting and chewing, has the opportunity of observing a younger child being suckled. In such cases its envy is reinforced by this special circumstance. Some-

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[2] *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. VII, 1921, S. 171.

times this character-trait is incompletely surmounted by being turned into the opposite; the original envy, however, comes to light again without any difficulty from under various disguises.

If the child evades the Scylla of this danger, it is threatened by the Charybdis of another. The child attempts to resume the abandoned act of sucking in an altered form and take it up again in another locality. The sucking activity of the sphincters at the excretory apertures of the body has already been mentioned. We have recognized that an inordinate desire to possess, especially in the form of abnormal parsimony and avarice, stands in close relation to this process. These traits, belonging to the clinical phenomena of the anal character, are built up on the ruins of an oral erotism that has miscarried in development. Here only one path of this defective development will be described. The preceding description will suffice to show how dependent is our understanding of the anal character on adequate knowledge of the preceding stages of development.

We will pass on to consider the direct contributions rendered by oral erotism to the formation of character; an example from daily psycho-analytical observation will furnish an illustration.

Neurotic parsimony, which may be developed to the point of avarice, is often met with in people who are inhibited from properly earning a livelihood; the anal sources of character-formation provide no explanation of this. What we find here is an inhibition of the craving for objects, which indicates that the libido has undergone some special vicissitude. The pleasure in acquiring desired objects seems here repressed in favour of pleasure in holding fast to existing posessions. People in whom we find this inhibition are regularly burdened with a pronounced anxiety lest they should lose the most trifling of their possessions. Anxiety regarding such losses prevents them from devoting themselves to the earning of money, and renders them in many ways helpless towards practical life. We shall understand such a type of character-formation better if we take related phenomena for comparison.

In certain other cases the *entire* character-formation is under oral influence, but this can only be proved after a penetrating analysis. According to my experience in these cases we are here concerned with persons in whom the sucking period was undisturbed and highly pleasurable. They have brought with them from this happy period a deeply rooted conviction that it will always be well with them. They face life with an imperturbable optimism which often helps them to

actual attainment of practical aims. There are also less favourable types of development here. Some people are dominated by an expectation that there must be a good person caring for them, a representative of the mother, of course, from whom they will receive everything necessary in life. This optimistic belief in fate actually condemns them to inactivity. We again recognize them as people who were over-indulged in the sucking period. Their whole conduct in life shows that they expect the mother's breast to flow for them eternally, so to speak. These people expect to make no kind of effort, in some cases they actually disdain undertaking any bread-winning occupation.

This optimism, whether it occurs in connection with energetic conduct in life or as in the last-mentioned aberration with indifference to worldly matters, stands in noteworthy contrast to a phenomenon of the anal character that has not been sufficiently appreciated up to the present. I refer to a melancholic seriousness which passes over into marked pessimism. I have to point out, however, that this trait is for the most part not directly of anal origin, but originates in the disappointment of oral desires in the earliest years. Here the optimistic belief described above in the benevolence of fate is completely absent. On the contrary, these persons perpetually show an apprehensive attitude towards life, and, moreover, have a tendency to make the worst of everything and find undue difficulties in the simplest undertakings.

The influence of character-formation which is thus rooted in oral erotism shows itself in the entire conduct of the individual, and makes itself felt in his choice of profession, his predilections, and his hobbies. The type of neurotic official who is only able to exist when all the circumstances of his life have been prescribed for him once and for all may be mentioned as an example. To him the necessary condition of life is that his means of sustenance should be guaranteed to him up to the day of his death. He renounces any possibility of improving his position in favour of a secure and regularly flowing source of income.

So far we have dealt with certain people whose entire character-formation is explained by the gratified state of their libido in the oral stage of development in infancy. In psycho-analytic work, however, we observe other individuals who are burdened throughout their whole life with the after-effects of an ungratified sucking period. In the character of these people there is not the least trace of any such development.

In their social conduct these people always seem to be asking for something, in which they vary between making modest requests and assertive demands. The manner in which they bring forward their

wishes has something in the nature of persistent sucking about it ; they are as little to be put off by hard facts as by reasoned arguments, but continue to plead and to insist. One might say that they incline to suck ' like leeches.' They are particularly sensitive to being alone, even for a short time. Impatience is a marked characteristic with them. In certain persons psycho-analytic investigation reveals a regression from the oral-sadistic to the sucking stage ; in them the conduct described is found intermixed with a cruel trait which makes them something like vampires in their attitude to other people.

In the same people we meet certain traits of character which we have to trace back to a peculiar displacement within the oral sphere. The longing to experience gratification by way of sucking has changed in them to a need to *give* by way of the mouth. We find here beside the persistent longing to obtain everything a constant urge to communicate orally to other people. An obstinate urge to talk thus results, and in most cases a feeling of overflowing is connected with it ; these persons have the impression that their flow of thought is inexhaustible, and they ascribe to their utterances in speech either a special influence or an unusual value. In such cases the principal relation to other people is effected by the way of oral discharge. The obstinate insistence described above naturally occurs chiefly by means of speech ; the same function serves at the same time for the act of giving, however. I could regularly establish that these people were unable to keep a curb on other activities just as they were on their speaking. Thus one frequently finds in them a neurotically exaggerated need to urinate, which often becomes noticeable simultaneously with an outburst of talking or directly after it.

In those phenomena of character-formation which belong to the oral-sadistic stage, too, speaking takes over representation of repressed impulses from another quarter. In certain neurotics the hostile tendency in speech is especially striking ; in this instance it serves the unconscious purpose of killing the adversary. Psycho-analysis has demonstrated in such cases that in place of a violent attack by way of biting and devouring a milder form of aggression has appeared, though the mouth is still utilized as the organ of it. In certain neurotics speaking is used to express the entire range of instinctual trends, whether friendly or hostile, social or asocial, and irrespective of the sphere of impulse to which they originally belonged. In these people the impulsion to talk signifies desiring as well as attacking, killing, or annihilating, and at the same time every kind of bodily evacuation,

including the act of fertilization. Speaking, in the phantasies of such people, is subject to the narcissistic valuation which the unconscious applies to all physical and psychical productions. The entire conduct here described puts such persons in a particularly striking contrast to reticent people with anal character-formation.

Such observations most emphatically draw our attention to the varieties and differences existing in the realm of oral character-formation. The field which we are investigating is anything but strictly limited or poor in variations. The most important differences are, however, dependent on whether a phenomenon of character has developed on the basis of the earlier or the later oral stage, whether, in other words, it is the expression of an unconscious tendency to suck or to bite. In the latter case we shall find in connection with such a character-trait the most marked phenomena of ambivalence, positive and negative cravings of instinct, hostile and friendly tendencies, while we may assume on the basis of our experience that the character-traits derived from the stage of sucking are still not subjected to ambivalence. This fundamental difference, according to my observations, extends to the most trifling peculiarities in the conduct of life. At a meeting of the British Psychological Society (Medical Section) Dr. Edward Glover recently read a paper in which he took these contrasts into particular consideration.[3]

Very significant contrasts in the character-formation of different individuals are to be traced psycho-analytically from the decisive influences on the process of formation of character exercised in one case by oral, in the other case by anal, impulses. Similarly, the connection of sadistic elements with the discharge of libido pertaining to the erotogenic zones is of considerable significance. A few examples which serve only for illustration, but do not aim at completeness, may verify this. In our psycho-analyses we are able to trace manifestations of very intense craving and effort back to the primary oral stage ; it need hardly be mentioned that the participation of other sources of impulse in this should by no means be overlooked. But the desires derived from that earliest stage are still free from the tendency towards destruction of objects which is characteristic of the impulses of the next stage.

The covetous impulses which are derived from the second oral stage are the antithesis of the modesty in demands which we meet so

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[3] ' The Significance of the Mouth in Psycho-Analysis ', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. IV, Part 2, 1924.

frequently as a phenomenon of the anal character. It is true here that the weakness of the inclination to get and acquire is made up for by the obstinacy in holding fast to possessions which has been mentioned already.

Characteristic, too, are the differences in the inclination to share one's own possessions with others. Generosity is frequently found as an oral character-trait; the orally gratified person is here identifying himself with the lavish mother. It is different at the next oral-sadistic stage, where envy, hostility and jealousy make such behaviour impossible. If, therefore, in many cases generous or envious behaviour is derived from one of the two oral stages of development, the tendency to covetousness, known already to us, corresponds to the following anal-sadistic stage of development of character.

There are noteworthy differences in social conduct, too, according to the stage of development of the libido from which the formation of character is derived. People who were gratified in the earliest stage are bright and sociable; persons fixated at the oral-sadistic stage are hostile and snappy, while moroseness, inaccessibility and reticence go with the anal character.

Further, persons with oral character are accessible to new ideas, in a favourable as well as an unfavourable sense, while conservative behaviour opposed to all innovations belongs to the anal character; though this certainly also prevents hasty abandonment of what has proved good.

A similar contrast exists between the impatient importunity, haste and restlessness of people with oral character-formation, and the perseverance and persistence of the anal character, which, on the other hand, certainly also tends to procrastination and hesitation.

The character-trait of ambition, which we meet with so frequently in our psycho-analyses, Freud[4] derived long ago from urethral erotism. This explanation, however, does not seem to have penetrated to its deepest sources. According to my experience, and also to that of Dr. Edward Glover, this is rather a character-trait of oral origin which is later reinforced from other sources, among which the urethral should be particularly mentioned.

Further, it has to be noted that certain contributions to character-formation originating in the earliest oral stages coincide in important

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[4] 'Character and Anal Erotism' (1908), *Collected Papers*, Vol. II, 1924.

respects with some derived from the final genital stages, which is probably to be explained from the fact that at these two stages there is less danger of disturbance to the libido by ambivalence.

In many people we find, beside the oral character-traits described, other psychological manifestations which we have to derive from the same instinctual sources, namely, impulses which have escaped any social transformation. As examples a morbidly intense appetite for food and the inclination to various kinds of oral perversion are especially to be mentioned. Further, we meet many kinds of neurotic symptoms which are determined orally, and finally also phenomena which have come into being by the path of sublimation. These latter products deserve a separate investigation, which, however, would exceed the limits of this paper; hence a single example only can be briefly mentioned.

The displacement of the infantile pleasure in sucking to the intellectual sphere is of great practical significance. Curiosity, the pleasure in observing, receives important reinforcements from this source, and this not only in childhood, but also during the whole of life. In persons with a special inclination towards observing nature, and towards many branches of scientific investigation, psycho-analysis proves a close connection between these impulses and repressed oral craving.

A glance into the workshop of scientific investigation enables us to recognize how impulses pertaining to the different erotogenic zones must support and supplement one another, if the most favourable results possible are to be achieved. The optimum is reached when an intensive imbibing of observations is combined with ample tenacity, ability to ' digest ' the collected facts, and a sufficiently strong impulse to give them back to the world provided this does not occur with undue haste. Psycho-analytical practice enables us to recognize various kinds of divergences from this optimum. Thus there are people with an intense mental capacity for absorbing, who, however, are inhibited in production. Others again produce in too much of a hurry. It is no exaggeration to say of such people that what they have scarcely taken in comes out of their mouths again immediately. When they are analysed it often proves that these same persons tend to vomit food that has just been taken. They are people who show the most extreme neurotic impatience; a satisfactory combination of forward-pushing oral impulses with retarding anal ones is lacking in their character-formation.

It seems to me particularly important, in conclusion, to allude once

more to the significance of such combinations. In the normal formation of character we invariably find derivatives from all the original sources happily combined with one another.

It is important, moreover, to consider the numerous possibilities of such combinations because it prevents us from overestimating some one particular point of view, although this may be an important one. If we consider the problems of character-formation from the one large unifying point of view which psycho-analysis affords us, from that of infantile sexuality, then it is obvious 'how everything weaves itself into a whole' in the characterological sphere. The realm of infantile sexuality extends over and includes entirely opposite aspects. It involves the entire unconscious instinctual life of the mature human being. Likewise it is the scene of the very important mental impressions of the earliest years, among which we also have to reckon prenatal influences. Sometimes we may feel dismayed in face of the mass of phenomena which meets us in the wide field of human mental life, from the play of children and other typical products of the early activity of phantasy, from the development of interests and talents, up to the most highly valued achievements of mature human beings and the most extreme differences in single individuals. But then let us remember the man who has given us the instrument for this investigation, psycho-analysis, and thereby opened to us the way to infantile sexuality, this living source of life.

THE PSYCHOSES: THEIR MECHANISMS AND ACCESSIBILITY TO INFLUENCE[1]

BY

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'We see then that for the narcissistic neuroses our technical methods must be replaced by others; we do not as yet know whether we shall succeed in so replacing them'.—FREUD: *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis.*

In the course of its investigations psycho-analysis has taught us to recognize the laws which govern the instinctual life and to bring the knowledge so gained to bear upon mental phenomena. In so doing, it has thrown light upon the principal relations governing the object-libido, which is directed towards and dependent upon the outside world, and has applied its discoveries to the cure of the transference-neuroses. Little as we could expect to add anything fundamentally new to the already highly developed theory of these mental strata, we nevertheless keenly regret that our knowledge of the structure of the mental life has been extended very little beyond the frontier of narcissism and, above all, that as yet our power of influencing the mind does not extend to the psychoses. We may indeed suspect that the very nature of this form of illness should impose a limitation, if not upon our understanding, at least upon our power. For the distinguishing mark of psychosis is that the existing capacity for transference is not able to overcome the narcissistic fixations which are recognizable in the symptoms. Since the transference alone furnishes the energy with which, together with the patient's conscious will to recover, we are able to master the fixations of a neurosis, by our very definition there would seem to be no scope for an analogous mastering of psychosis.

In the following paper, however, I hope to be able to refute this conclusion as premature, for it is based on a theoretical conception by no means free from objection. We are to this extent conscious of the difficulty of this interesting problem and of its importance: that any knowledge gained of the operation of the ego-instincts may from the practical point of view of its ultimate application to the cure of mental illness throw open new realms of the mind to our influence.[2]

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[1] Read before the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society on March 12, 1924.

[2] Moreover, we must not forget that the 'organic' probably borders closely on the narcissistic.

The subject of the present paper is in the first place an hypothesis concerning the conditioning factors by which a psychosis comes about or is avoided in those ' border-line ' characters in whom the phenomena of transition to a psychosis are so readily observed. The considerations which I shall bring forward should strengthen our hope of being able in the future to cure certain of the psychoses, for we shall convince ourselves that, in psychosis just as in neurosis, the distinction between ' normal ' and pathological is by no means a basic distinction in the psychic realm.

At the outset of psycho-analytical research it was first of all necessary for the investigator to overcome his narcissistic resistance to comparing his own mental reactions with those of psycho neurotics. Having advanced thus far, he came to recognize the truth of a certain principle and to rid himself of a misunderstanding which was always lying in wait for him. He realized that no mechanism has either an inherent incompatibility with reality or an intrinsic real value, but that it is only the quantity of the libido, the material with which it is concerned, its relation to other mental phenomena occurring simultaneously and the place it occupies in the whole psychic picture which does or does not confer a pathological character upon the final result. This rule necessitates a complete severance of two principles of classification of the mental processes : that according to mechanisms and that according to value for reality. If these two principles are confounded, understanding of a given fact is invariably rendered more difficult ; whereas if they are sharply distinguished it often facilitates the solving of a problem.[3] The validity of this statement has been abundantly

[3] Here we touch on an important error in the ' comprehension psychology ' (Dilthey, Jaspers) which divides mental phenomena into those which are and those which are not comprehensible. This comprehensibility depends on the person making the observations : it is not accurate to say that schizophrenic experience falls entirely within the category of the incomprehensible. There are many perfectly ' healthy ' persons of the schizoid type who can ' understand ' even schizophrenic processes. According to comprehension psychology, the standard by which all phenomena are to be measured is the healthy man, with the exception of certain groups of schizoid types. This psychology assumes without further ado that this system of referring one phenomenon to another has a peculiar psychological significance, an assumption which underlies the old idea that mental disease is invariably conditioned by the occurrence of an organic process and represents a course of psychological events which differs *toto*

confirmed by the findings of analytical work ; the object of the present paper is to prove it for the psychoses also.

By ' disease ' in the mental sense we understand not departure from a norm but incapacity to arrive at gratification of the desire for pleasure in any way that is actually possible. In analytical terminology we call this a turning away of the libido from real objects. Let us consider some of the principal things which may happen when such an abnormal application of libido takes place. It may happen that, in the course of its development, the libido remains attached to a specially strong fixation-point, so that, in spite of all the new influences which real experience brings with it, it either cannot be released, or else in quite a short time at the slightest frustration at once returns to that point (inhibition in development). Or there is another possibility: the libido may develop normally for the time being and later this development may be interrupted by a regression to past forms of gratification.

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genere from the normal. Of course I am not disputing the fact that some process does take place, but, since Kretschmer's researches, we can scarcely doubt that even the different forms of ' normality ' are differentiated by organic processes. Ideler has already recognized that this idea, which has taken root amongst us since the days of the early psychiatrists, constitutes a reassurance for the observer, who is confounded by the sight of mental disturbance, for it is an idea which enables him to retain his narcissistic sense of superiority in spite of his powerlessness as a physician. Certainly it is not inconceivable that this should represent the true state of affairs, but in any case it cannot be permissible to adopt without question the hypothesis of the psychological significance of a classification of this sort. To my mind this is the reason why comprehension psychology has failed to perceive many connections and those the most important from the point of view of therapeutics. Obviously adaptation to reality has ultimately a biological meaning, for the existing social reality has a biological basis (Schilder). But this relation, which science cannot as yet adequately explore, is too complex to be made the criterion of what takes place in a given individual at the present day. For social community, though its basis be biological, is simply a cross-section and a compromise of the biological tendencies of the individual or a product of the historical evolution of that cross-section, which for the individual is fortuitous. A community of persons at the same stage of civilization will agree more or less in a classification of food according to its nutritive properties and its pleasantness to the taste, but this could not serve as a method of classification in physiological chemistry, although it has of course ultimately been determined by biological and physiological evolution.

A repression of this sort may be caused by actual forces which recall the libido (as in war-neurosis, 'dole-neurosis', Ganser's syndrome, and hysterical puerility), as well as by frustration from without or from within. In any given case of illness we shall probably always find both mechanisms at work. Again, the regression may either be one going straight back to the ego, or else to libidinal object-fixations. The different lines the process may follow in the latter case should be considered; if the libido has cathected afresh a once abandoned point of fixation, the determining factor is the strength and the nature of the repression. If this be weak, the libido finds outlet in actions; this solution, which is that of some of the perversions and various asocial reactions of instinct, may be conceived of as based upon a disturbance in the development of the ego-ideal or a later, regressive, psychotic impoverishment in libido of that ideal. Where, however, there are powerful forces of rejection at work we have to distinguish between their motive and their aim. Apparently there are two principal types of repression corresponding with two principal types of ideal: the one which is moral in content: 'I must not do or think this, for it is immoral; my father has forbidden it'; and the other which is narcissistic and which prompts something as follows: 'This may not be, for it would humiliate me; it does not accord with my lofty and noble personality'. The first form of repression leads by way of compromise-formation into neurosis; the second seems to be the basis of a withdrawal of the libido into the ego by way of compensation (Tausk), that is to say the basis of psychosis.[4] This hypothesis agrees essentially with the earlier conception according to which psychosis results from fixation on the narcissistic level, for it is on these points of fixation that the structure of the ideal depends.

When once regression has taken place the final picture may be that of a hyper-cathexis of the ego or, if this is avoided, there may be an attempt to direct the libido once more to objects. If this attempt be wholly successful it is followed by a restoration of the

[4] The compensation which Tausk describes and which may be used as a most effective tool in the technique of analysis belongs *typically* only to purely narcissistic forms of repression; it *may* occur in other forms (the train of thought being: '*I* may allow myself something of this sort too') if the necessary narcissistic elements are present. It is probably due to this compensation, together with the impoverishment of the super-ego, that in psychosis the subject is conscious of the normally unconscious complexes.

former condition and the whole ego-process is cancelled; hence this case falls outside the scope of our discussion. If, however, the attempt fails altogether or in part, a fresh turning of the libido to the outside world can only be accomplished by a projection on to that world of a part of the subject's own mind. Let us then distinguish the two mechanisms: by the one the libido finds its discharge by regression into the ego; this we may term a regressive psychosis. The other mechanism is that by which, following upon the regression, a (not wholly successful) attempt at restitution is made; this form I shall call a restitutive psychosis. In the psychoses the clinical picture seems to be determined sometimes by the one set of mechanisms and sometimes by the other. Thus catatonia should be called a regressive and paranoia a restitutive psychosis. It is to be anticipated, and is in agreement with our experience in pathology, that in the mechanisms of regressive psychosis it is not generally the whole ego which is libidinally cathected, but varying parts of it in a variable degree. In an analogous manner when restitution takes place there is projection of different parts of the ego in a variety of ways.

The principle laid down at the beginning of this study leads us to expect that neither the one mechanism nor the other will possess in itself any peculiar reality-value, and it would seem natural to connect any value of this sort simply with the object in the ego and the ego's attitude to that object, or, alternatively, with the particular mode of projection. Actually, we know that even a regressive hyper-cathexis of the ego, or part of the ego, such as occurs in all of us every day transitorily and in some of us permanently in the formation of character, by no means necessarily strikes us as pathological. It is perhaps rather more difficult to realize this in the restitutive psychotic processes, because amongst these we must include partly unsuccessful attempts at directing the libido to the outside world. In this connection I will at present only remark that all our conscious thinking can be nothing but rationalization and our creative thinking is in addition the projection of libidinal processes. Not only, as has long been taken for granted, are the trend and the object-choice of our thinking to be construed as rationalization and projection, but the same is true of the *content* of our thoughts, not merely when that content is conditioned by complexes which make it erroneous, but when our judgment is correct and our insight accurate. Psycho-analysis can invariably show that this content is to be regarded as the projection of inner experience.

We will now for the moment digress from general exposition and

turn to the discussion of a particular personality, whose development will help us to understand to what sort of condition these mechanisms may ultimately lead and what are the laws which determine the possible forms of varying reality-value.

By chance I came across a healthy man of the schizoid type who was free from serious pathological disabilities, and whom I will call A. T. He was a young scientist of unusual ability and originality, whose mental constitution showed signs of narcissism and psychotic characteristics. His attitude towards those around him was one of marked superiority, which certainly had some actual foundation in his intellectual gifts. He had the least possible capacity for inner adaptation to other people. He felt different from mankind in general ; he was perfectly able to understand others intellectually, but their nature seemed to him alien. In his mind he was independent of the opinion of most people (he made an exception of a few individuals whom he esteemed highly), and his chief problem in life was the fostering of his own self-respect, an attitude which determined most of his mental sensations. Like all psychotics, he exhibited a weakness of those repressions which govern normal people and neurotics. Material which in them is deeply overlaid and can only be brought to the surface by long and laborious work came to light in T. through mere interrogation ; it was always conscious and carried with it no sense of guilt. To the narcissist the outside world means far too little for him to give its laws sway over his mind.

In his childhood T. had passed through a period of deep depression with thoughts of suicide—these apparently followed on conflicts with his home-surroundings. In other respects, too, the boy's mental condition had probably sometimes caused uneasiness to those around him. After he had thrown off this phase during the years of puberty his choice of a profession and his interests, which were mathematical, declared themselves. The turn which his sublimations thus took was notably different from his earlier philological and literary bent. The only intimation there had been of this change was his interest in grammar and, while he was still a child, a considerable skill in chess which included the power of playing blindfold. His family insisted on his giving up chess. Immediately after he had taken up mathematics in the higher forms at school there set in another persistent state of depression, the actual motivation of which was the difficulty of scientific work ; this state only gradually passed away in his later years at college.

This libidinal development was connected in a remarkable manner

with his relations with his father. It was not actually proved, but it was very probable, that narcissistic identification with the father played a leading part in T.'s depression in childhood. Suicide was designed to represent a symbolic parricide. His later choice of interests denoted a repudiation of the identification with his father, who was of another turn of mind: the father's mode of thought and the mathematical bent which the son's mind took might be termed diametrically opposite. This form of mastery over the father had been heralded in childhood by his preoccupation with and skill in chess, and revealed the boy in contest with the father within him; at the same time it shadowed forth the future way of sublimation by which in time he was to gain the mastery over his father.

After he grew up there were no symptoms of any importance to be observed, except certain phenomena which one would be inclined to call dissociations of consciousness, which made their appearance periodically if his narcissism were wounded and symbolic castration took place (*e.g.*, failure of a scientific experiment). He himself described these phenomena as follows: at such moments it was as if there were two different beings thinking within him, between whom he tried in vain and with a sense of anxiety to establish communication. These states, which were very distressing, lasted only a few minutes. We shall have to return to them later in the therapeutic section of this paper.

Otherwise, he attained in his outward behaviour to an adequate conscious adaptation to reality, going in fact further in some directions than most normal people. To an external force which was too strong for him he submitted without any sense of humiliation. His feelings towards those with whom he came in contact (transferences) were in themselves facile and analysis could put them out of action extraordinarily quickly. Preserving an inner indifference, he accepted human beings as they are without any difficulty, wherever it was not possible for him to bring his surroundings into line with his will by means of his narcissistic personality and his 'somnambulistic assurance' (to use his own phrase).[5]

How nearly T.'s character and personality bordered on psychosis and what was the factor which just kept them clear of it may be illustrated by the following example. Once, when I was giving him some theoretical explanation of psycho-analysis and the nature of psychosis,

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[5] On the effect of narcissistic personalities, cf. Freud: 'On Narcissism: an Introduction', *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV.

I told him of a dement who demanded as a matter of course that his mother should have intercourse with him. I pointed out that the man's narcissism prevented his acknowledging the incest-barrier, whereupon T. objected that he, too, never could understand the incest-barrier and above all had never even felt it, and that, where brothers and sisters were concerned, he utterly refused to recognize the incest-prohibition. The adaptation to reality which governed his conduct would accordingly seem to be simply due to the recognition of its outward necessity and not to the compelling effect of inner experience, so that even the moral content of his ideal was determined by narcissistic impulses, the will to live and to fulfil himself. For this reason he could think forbidden thoughts without any resistance or sense of guilt. But in actual life the fact that anything was condemned by people in general, even though in his own mind he did not share their feeling, was enough to determine his real behaviour. He would never have given utterance to a demand remotely resembling that of the dement whom I quoted. But where a sister was concerned he refused to recognize even this inhibition by reality. (True, he had no brothers or sisters.) Thus T. showed the germ of characteristic schizoid reactions; moreover at times the schizoid blocking and flow of thought could be detected. It is the more remarkable that in spite of this he managed to keep his feet planted in reality and in his behaviour never (except for one symptom) noticeably crossed the pathological border-line. Fortunately we are not under the necessity of explaining this phenomenon by reference to insufficient regression of the libido, for the case is clear enough to give us a deeper insight. But, before we try to say what were the circumstances which enabled T. to ward off psychosis, let us glance at his intellectual constitution.

His field of work was mathematics; in this, as in other things, he was under the sway of a logical compulsion. He was able, when presented with difficult material, rapidly to separate out the premises and from them to conduct a subtle logical analysis. Consequently his mind was remarkably open to anything systematic and he accepted almost without resistance those parts of psycho-analytical theory which I tried to put before him as far as possible in a systematic structure. Here I may note that, in accordance with his whole mental attitude, he was not merely lacking in æsthetic and ethical resistances to analysis but soon turned these into objects of derision. Thus resistances to bringing to light unconscious attitudes in himself did not play any very large part in his analysis, for as a matter of fact they were

seldom strongly repressed: he was generally even conscious of his attitude. At the same time we must take into account the fact that scarcely at any point did the attempted analysis go very deep.

Although T. seemed ready to accept any train of reasoning to which there was no logical objection, he was inclined, on the other hand, to repudiate a conception or idea if it were not clearly and unambiguously formulated and carefully worked out, or if in any point it seemed to him still indefinite. His mode of apperception was apparently not instinctive but always by means of reason and logic. Even problems of every-day life he liked to think over in terms of mathematics.

In the science of his choice, which offered a constant field for application of his logical faculties, he was distinguished by that capacity for a profound grasp of the problems which is often the result of creative work. It was scarcely surprising that his critical faculty (and also his power of self-criticism) were strongly developed.

Already we may feel that it was no mere chance that a man of T.'s character chose this particular field of interest. But, before going further, let us consider the psychological mechanisms of mathematical work.

In the first place it strikes us that in the scientific mode of thought we can distinguish different forms, the extreme types of which might be called ' narcissistic ' and ' object-libidinal ' thinking respectively. By this I do not simply mean the obvious difference in the interest of the thinker, though that does always play a part, the narcissist prizing more highly the knowledge itself and the investigator whose libido goes out to an external object setting greater value upon the application of knowledge in human civilization. It is not this difference of values and aims which I want to discuss, but the difference in the actual mode of thinking. If it is characteristic of the object-libidinal mode to consider the facts and the facts only, as Freud puts it, it is the peculiarity of the narcissistic mode to consider concepts and nothing but concepts. The scientist whose method is the object-libidinal deduces from his observations hypotheses which remain uncertain until further knowledge is won and which, if circumstances require it, make use of concepts that are not altogether clearly defined. According to their practical utility he does not scruple to make use of complex conceptions, so long as the final and most simple cannot easily be arrived at. To him the value of his findings is always their relations to actuality. ' Hypotheses are not the foundation-stone but the coping

of the whole structure and can be replaced or removed without damage '.[6]

With the narcissistic scientist it is otherwise ; he likes to see every theory fitted as soon as possible into a systematic structure. His aim is to deduce all his conclusions from a few clearly-defined postulates which are independent of one another. He endeavours always to get down to elementary concepts which cannot be dissected further and to build up his theory from a synthesis of such concepts. He willingly abandons [7] the interpretation of phenomena which are too complex for such a synthesis. The narcissist regards a scientific theory as useful if, by means of it, a definite field of phenomena can be reduced to an arbitrary, well-defined conceptual system in such a way that all relations deducible from the system by formal logic, if they be translated by way of this theoretical scheme into terms of phenomena, find confirmation in them, that is to say in the facts.

It is not difficult to justify the use of the term ' narcissistic ' in this connection, especially as the word has already often been employed in something of this sense. If it is of the essence of narcissism ' to create a world for oneself ' (*sich seine Welt zu dichten*), to use the fine phrase in Strindberg's *Totentanz*, we may call a method narcissistic if it allows us to build constructions out of our own minds comparatively freely and arbitrarily.

The sciences may be arranged in a series according to the method principally employed in them. We see at once that at one end, the object-libidinal, we must surely place history, and at the other, the narcissistic, mathematics.

There can be no doubt that a capacity and inclination for work in these sciences, as for every form of creative work, are derived from object-libidinal sublimations. But at the same time we cannot fail to recognize the narcissistic character of this kind of activity, and thus we might speak of a ' union of instincts ' [8], involving both narcissism

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[6] Freud : ' On Narcissism : an Introduction '.

[7] A remark of T.'s is characteristic of this readiness to abandon the attempt. He said that he would feel a resistance to the scientific study of the problems of psycho-analysis, because they were highly complex and could not be experimentally reduced to their elementary concepts.

[8] The conception of the ' union of instincts ' (*Triebverbindung*) has been evolved in connection with Freud's ' fusion of instincts ' (*Triebmischung*) (*Das Ich und das Es*). The reason why I have used a different phrase is that in the case before us we really mean a further conception. The phrase

and object-libido, so that they co-operate towards the same end. At this point we are for the first time tempted to revert to a question which we left open; the gist of our survey is this: that the reason, and the only reason, why T. escaped the psychosis which his disposition would otherwise have produced was that his choice of a profession and the path taken by his sublimations did bind a great part of his narcissistic libido in a manner perfectly in accord with reality and thus rescued it from the formation of pathological psychotic symptoms. The existence of such sublimations which, if I may be allowed the expression, have a peculiar affinity to narcissism, would accordingly render the subject immune from psychosis, for, to use a happy phrase of T. himself, they constitute a *channel* ready for the reception of the volume of libido which, in psychotic dispositions of this sort, is perpetually flowing back into the ego.[9] The fate of the libido thus regressing into the ego could at one period be directly observed; there was a time when T. as it were froze against the whole outside world, and he then even withdrew all the tender impulses which he had hitherto had in his married life and did not feel the need of a fresh cathexis. Sexual intercourse became a purely physical matter, his wife being less an individual than a means to an end. But this withdrawal of object-libidinal instincts (love inhibited in its aim, as Freud calls it) was not at this time characterized by the formation of any pathological symptoms: there was simply an increased intellectual productivity. I think this hypothesis becomes the more probable when we consider the strikingly narcissistic mode of thought which T. made use of in his scientific work and which here again simply betokened an inferiority. If we try to fit the connection that I am here assuming into the theory of psychosis, we must recollect that as factors in the etiology of the psychoses we are familiar with the damming-up of libido, its withdrawal into the ego and in certain circumstances the attempt to direct it outwards again towards objects. Accordingly, we should not expect mental disease when the libido in regression or restitution is flowing in the same channels as the sublimations; when this happens we should realize that it is a solution of the whole process, analogous to the mechanism but compatible with reality. From this point of view

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' union of instincts ' should be used whenever it is intended to signify that different instincts share in producing a phenomenological unity.

[9] We now understand why schizophrenia so seldom develops in really schizoid persons of the markedly intellectual schizoid type.

narcissism can no longer be regarded as the instinct which finds its satisfaction in the ego as in an object ; on the contrary, we must go on to the idea that only certain and arbitrarily selected parts of the ego constitute the objects of the narcissistic instincts. It is not the withdrawal of the libido into the ego which is in itself responsible for the outbreak of psychosis, that is, the rupture with reality ; only those parts of the ego which are concerned in regression and restitution, or the relation of these parts to the outer world, are the factors which make the ultimate solution compatible or incompatible with reality. Thus, for instance, narcissism may be employed in a manner compatible with reality in the work of the mathematician, for whom it is permissible, nay obligatory, to construct a world logically out of his own mental creations. In any case narcissism is always so employed whenever a union of instincts, such as we have described, takes place between narcissism and a sublimation of object-libido and diverts the main stream of narcissism from the possibilities of abnormal application, so that, a sufficient quantity having been absorbed and in spite of there being still the same excess in the totality of narcissistic libido, there is no noticeable development of morbid symptoms. Evidently this is the opinion of A. Stärcke, who believes that psychosis is the result of purely ' infantile ' narcissism.[10]

So far our discussion has led to the formulation of an hypothesis for which we should like to have further empirical confirmation.

I once had the opportunity of observing a man of considerable original talent, whose mental constitution was closely akin to that of the patient in my first example and who chose the same branch of scientific work but without success, whereupon he became the victim of pathological psychotic reactions. At a certain critical stage in his life he crossed the border-line which we draw between the normal and the pathological. T., on the other hand, always remained on the side of the normal. This difference in the tendency to break with reality is based on a second difference. Both men attempted to satisfy their narcissism in a culturally valuable fashion by uniting it with object-libidinal sublimations ; both turned to a narcissistic science but, whilst T. attained success in this science, the other man could not point to any noteworthy original achievement. That is to say, that the attempt in which the one succeeded came to grief in the other, either because the existing sublimations were not sufficiently strong

[10] A. Stärcke : *Psychoanalyse und Psychiatrie.*

or his interest was not deep enough, or for some reason or other he was distracted from his aim. In the case under discussion all these causes conspired together. Here we see two people of kindred psychotic disposition and similar intellectual endowment who tried to escape in the same way from the psychoses with which they were threatened. The one who succeeded in scientific achievement and was able to employ his narcissism in a manner compatible with reality remained firmly rooted in reality, whilst the other lapsed into psychosis.[11]

Accordingly, the result of this discussion which, in my view, does not amount to anything more than a plausible essay in psycho-analytical interpretation, would seem to justify the following statement: in the steady transition from the normal to the psychotic there are certain quite definite relations between the presence or absence of pathological psychotic symptoms and the intellectual constitution. These relations are wholly analogous to those with which we are familiar as existing between neurotic symptoms and sublimations in the transition from the normal to the neurotic. Thus, the man who is able to direct a more considerable part of his narcissistic libido to sexual sublimations displays less pathological phenomena and preserves a greater adaptation to reality.

We see that these relations recall those laws upon which light has been thrown by study of the neuroses. In the therapeutic treatment of the latter, it was an important discovery that certain libidinal tendencies incompatible with reality could be sublimated by changing their object. We can observe an analogous position of affairs where the ego-instincts are concerned. Narcissism is not in itself by any means incompatible with reality; even where there is a marked preponderance of the narcissistic systems over the object-instincts, together with a hyper-cathexis of the ego, we can conceive solutions by which the individual attains a perfectly satisfactory attitude towards reality. One such solution may be observed when such a union of instincts with sublimations as we have discussed takes place.

Thus we are faced with the general task of studying the manifold relations of ego-instincts and object-instincts which, whether in the normal or the sick person, combine to produce a phenomenological unity and also of studying the forms this combination may assume, and the conditions under which a solution and combination of these

[11] As the present paper is intended only to formulate a theory, from now on I shall not enter in any greater detail into the discussion of cases.

elements, a chemical reaction, as it were, takes place. But the law governing these transformations will be, here as elsewhere, the pleasure-principle which in general determines the course of the current of libido.

We had a union of instincts again in the clinical picture of the dement whom I mentioned earlier, whose narcissistic attitude caused him to persist in an infantile form of object-love. Here narcissistic libido combined in an attempt at restitution with unsublimated object-libido incompatible with social standards. A case of this sort always results in a pathological attitude, that is, one at variance with reality. Possibly there is also present here another, considerably closer, form of ' union '.

Accordingly, we may say in general that there is an affinity between the different possible methods of employing the libido with varying meaning for reality but by the same mechanism. And further that a union of instincts with sublimation leads to a favourable issue, which in certain circumstances may be of positive value for cultural development. Sublimations of object-libido as a whole may be conceived of as forming a series according to their greater or lesser affinity to narcissism. In sublimation itself we can clearly distinguish two mechanisms : an object-libidinal process, i.e. the change of the object of interest, and a simultaneous process of regression and restitution, the result of which conditions the capacity of the subject for sublimation. Here we have arrived by a different route at Freud's thought (*Das Ich und das Es*) that sublimation invariably takes place by way of the ego. We need plead no excuse for avoiding at this point the discussion of the pressing questions which now arise as to the nature of sublimation and the forms and conditions of projection, and for deferring to another time an exhaustive discussion of these points.

We now understand that narcissism may manifest itself in very different forms, in ways valuable from the cultural point of view, in the detrimental form of psychosis, or even in phenomena essentially indifferent from the point of view of reality.[12] At once, however, we begin to wish to deduce from the insight we have won methods for the therapeutic treatment of psychotic conditions. If it is true that the outset of disease depends on the possibility of using the libido which is flowing back into the ego in regression or restitution by com-

[12] Cf. here the possibilities of repression of object-instincts, described by Freud in *Eine Kindheitserrinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci* (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. IX).

bining the instinct with the sublimations in a manner compatible with reality, and if this union is, as it appears to be, related to object-libidinal processes which are accessible to our methods, then we may hope to be able to find a way of curing a psychosis which has already broken out.

The task of our therapy [13] can be definitely stated, since we have committed ourselves to the opinion that, even in the psychoses, the fundamental principle of the independence of mechanism and reality-value is not transgressed, and that, moreover, we are forced to the conclusion that object-libidinal processes (the other factor in the union of instincts), that is to say processes in the higher mental strata, are responsible for this reality-value.

The therapeutic task which now confronts us may be called the ' sublimation of narcissism ', but we must not be misled by the phrase into forgetting that the same word is applied to a similar but by no means identical process. In the sublimation of instincts directed towards outside objects the instinct is detached from its original object and turns to another, associatively connected with that object. A ' sublimation of narcissism ', on the other hand, presupposes this sublimation of ' object-instincts ', in order that narcissistic libido may be freed from any existing attachments and, following the path of greater pleasure, ally itself with that sublimation. The way is a similar one to that along which Freud shows that the world has travelled from animism to science. If the animistic philosophy has its origin in the narcissistic projection of mental phenomena upon the outside world, in the scientific phase this narcissistic libido has been ' sublimated '. That is to say, it has effected a union of instincts with those object-libidinal sublimations which lead to scientific research and it becomes recognizable both in the narcissistic elements of every scientific work and in the actual striving after increasing mastery of the outside world.

In sublimation the object-libido changes its aims ; in the sublimation of narcissism it would seem that the objects within the subject's own ego have to be changed and probably at the same time the mode of union of narcissism with these objects.

In the psychoses of the schizophrenic type, because the patient's tendencies to observation are withdrawn from the outer world into the

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[13] It is obvious that in the following therapeutic discussions we are for the moment confining ourselves to the less serious forms of schizophrenia, paranoia and those phenomena which are on the border-line of neurosis.

ego, his own pathological mental processes are experienced by him like processes outside himself ; his delusional system is a theory which in itself is not open to any objection and is designed to account for what is to him a particular aspect of reality. Now if we succeed in actually realizing other mental phenomena we apply to them our power of constructing theories ; some of the various possibilities are now compatible with reality.

Before entering upon the therapeutic discussion, let me relate what happened to the symptom in T. of which I have spoken. As I have said, this symptom constantly made its appearance after disappointments in his scientific work. To connect it with feelings of inferiority and the castration-complex was therefore natural, but this did not solve the problem of its deeper motivation. Let us first of all consider the question of what the possible conditions would be under which, if our views are correct, the outbreak of a psychosis in this case would be conceivable. Obviously, this could be imagined only as based on lasting frustration in his scientific work, such as would rob of its value the attempt at restitution which was compatible with reality. And now we note that slight disappointments due to an occasional failure constitute slight frustrations of this sort, which are followed by a momentary regression into psychosis—a transitory regression, because a mistaken calculation can have no lasting importance as a frustration. On the patient's gaining complete insight into the mechanisms discussed in this paper and into their general connection, this symptom was first of all replaced for quite a short time by ordinary ' depersonalization ' states. Subsequently it vanished completely, and I see no possibility of its return, for its conditioning factors are now conscious and the disappointment, when it occurs, can at once be recognized as unimportant, seeing that communication has been established with the conscious capacity of judgement, which appreciates the insignificance of the occasion. Of course it is conceivable that regressions of this sort might take place after actual, grave frustrations in sublimation. But I do not see any basis for these in reality and I think that, even if this actually took place, the subject's self-knowledge would make it easy for the libido to take up a fresh position in reality. The possibility of an hysterical origin of the symptom must be considered but, taking into account the character of T., which was the very opposite of the hysterical type, and remembering the result of the treatment, I think this possibility may be dismissed out of hand. Suggestion does not come into the question and, that being so, has an hysterical symptom

ever been known to dissolve in consequence of an insight into the psycho-genesis of logic ?

Before we begin to discuss the extension of analytic therapy to the psychoses we must consider again what has to be presupposed in general of the exercise of influence upon the mind as a whole. According to our dynamic view mental life is determined by a system of forces. In order to intervene in this system we in our turn need a force to enable the (morbid or healthy) subject of our intervention to effect a libidinal cathexis of the therapeutist. The possibility of a transference seems therefore to be the prerequisite for any sort of influence on the mind.

This fact imposes upon us the duty of considering the dynamic relations, in order to be able to decide whether it is theoretically possible to conceive of anyone from the outside world exercising at will an influence upon a narcissistic neurosis, that is to say, upon an illness in which the decisive part is played by ego-instincts which are not turned towards that world. Moreover, for the purpose of comparison we must reflect upon the nature of the effect produced by ordinary psycho-analytical therapy in neurosis.

The motives which create and maintain pathogenic symptoms in neurosis are unconscious [14] ; to these is opposed the conscious will of the ego, which draws upon reality and which is impotent because it does not know its adversary and can make its attack only upon the final manifestations of the unconscious instinctual forces. This is the reason why all efforts of will on the part of neurotic persons are so fruitless. Now the analytic treatment first of all brings knowledge of the cause of the illness, the genesis of the symptom and all the forces which maintain it. To the determinants of the mental process a fresh factor is added, namely, the knowledge of mental laws, and this must alter the issue, just as an experiment is influenced by the mere presence of a measuring instrument. In our case the change will consist in an alliance being effected between the will of the conscious personality, which is almost always a will to recovery, and the unconscious motives in the neurosis. The enemy and his hiding-place are recognized and it is possible to measure one's strength with them. Now if the conscious will be the stronger it alone will suffice for mastery of the formerly unconscious will. This is the rare case, in which the patient's under-

[14] Here and in the rest of this paper the word ' unconscious ' is used in a purely topographical sense ; for the purpose of this paper it is a matter of practical indifference whether the phenomena in question be regarded as unconscious or ' spherical '.

standing of the genesis of his illness suffices to cure him. In all other cases we have one more powerful weapon in the transference ; in his relation with the patient the physician takes on all those qualities to which enormous libido-quantities have been fixated by pleasurable experiences in the past. These qualities form an associative bridge by which this same libido is transferred to the person of the physician in order that it may pass over from him to real objects. This whole mass of libido can now be used to reinforce the conscious will to get well. If the scale still turns in favour of the forces which impel the patient to neurosis then even this method is useless and we must acknowledge that the libido-fixations are too strong.

But there is one thing which we must not forget. Sick persons, as well as normal, find a constant support in daily experience. That is to say, these experiences are readily employed by the libidinal tendencies which are responsible for the symptoms as well as by the conscious will directed towards reality, and every pleasure is turned to account by the conscious will or the libidinal tendencies. And the self-knowledge attained through psycho-analysis can accomplish something even in cases in which the will to recovery, together with the libido massed in the transference, cannot master their enemy. For self-knowledge will bar the way against this reinforcement of the impulses of the *id*, against which the battle is being fought, whereas the will to recovery can feed upon reality after analysis as before it. Thus it may happen that, even in such difficult cases, with the passage of years the balance does finally sink on the side of health. The situation is comparable to the position of two armies, encamped opposite one another and each receiving equal reinforcements from allies, so that the relative power of the two remains constant or even favours the army of the neurosis. But all changes must march through passes and along roads which the army of consciousness can control. Now if the general of this army knows the position of the enemy and if his intelligence-service is sufficiently well organized to inform him in good time of the forces which are joining the adversary and the direction his march is taking, it will be possible to cut him off from all his reserve-forces and gradually to gain the upper hand. It is to this that we must trace the often long period of incubation in the therapeutic effects of psycho-analytic treatment : short periods of this sort are to be explained as manifestations of unresolved transference.

This exposition would not be complete without a reminder that bringing into consciousness the development of the libido presupposes

in itself that the resistances have been overcome, which task again has to be accomplished by the transference. Thus even in those cases in which insight into the etiology of the illness induces the recovery of the patient the dynamic power which alone can give him this insight is furnished by the transference.

To these older technical methods must be added those to which of late years the chief interest has been directed. According to the new technique, the main task of the treatment is that a repetitive enactment of a piece of experience in the transference should be effected, and that the analyst should then furnish a fresh solution of it. The physician is chiefly assisted in bringing the unconscious factors into consciousness by the infantile forms of gratification coming to be discounted because they arouse actual ' pain '.[15] The common feature in all these forms of technique is that the transference is introduced in order directly to counteract an existing force. (Resistance to consciousness, tendency to regression, fixation of instinct, tendency to rejection on the part of the ideal.)

Now it is *a priori* clear that a similar method is bound to fail in psychosis; for we speak of a psychosis only when the narcissistic binding of a symptom is so strong that it outweighs the possibility of effecting a transference. The conceptions which have emerged in the course of this investigation have shown us not only that it is, as is well known, impossible to overcome a powerful narcissistic binding but have also led to the supposition that fortunately this is not necessary. The narcissistic libido has merely to change its points of attachment (its objects in the ego); the transference will serve only to bring about such changes in the object-libido that the resulting products will have a tendency to attract narcissistic libido and to combine with narcissistic elements or with such elements as have free valencies in respect of narcissism, if I may be permitted the expression. But this narcissism will flow towards the point of greatest pleasure; the task of the transference is simply to foster object-libidinal positions, by means of which the narcissism is expelled from other combinations and its partner is repressed.

At this point we must not overlook the fact that the schizophrenic's capacity for love is often confined to the narcissistic type; the only form of transference which can then be effectively established is the narcissistic, the physician himself taking up to a large extent a schizoid

[15] Cf. Ferenczi and Rank, *Entwicklungsziele der Psychoanalyse.*

attitude and acting the ego-ideal of the patient, only with the trifling difference that he is also able to appreciate reality.

In practical psycho-analytic work, when studying the vicissitudes undergone by the instincts, there is need to direct attention more than has been done hitherto to the factors which condition the formation and the resolution of unions of instincts and, amongst these, of devoting special care to the unions of narcissism and object-libido. Experience only can give us deeper insight into the laws in question and devise our therapeutic technique accordingly.

Now the only feature which the therapy of the psychoses has in common with the customary treatment of the neuroses is the use made of consciousness ; it seems as if in psychoses of the schizophrenic type insight into the mechanisms has a markedly greater power of assisting recovery than in neurosis. All self-knowledge consists in the establishing of communication between different tendencies which hitherto were cut off from one another. Possibly this explains why it plays a greater part in a mental condition the principal phenomenon in which, side by side with the withdrawal of libido, is dissociation.

In the case of T. the importance of self-knowledge, together with the establishment of communication and the recognition of the triviality of the occasion for regression (this regression being as it were based on a misunderstanding), is to be found in the narcissistic pleasure which he experienced in recognizing his impulses and mental mechanisms.

Accordingly we shall try to give the patient insight into the conditions under which the symptom originated and understanding of those factors in himself which operate to produce pleasure ; further, we shall endeavour to establish communication wherever blockages occur. But above all he must be brought to understand the kinship between his disposition to psychosis, and, in particular, to a given type of psychosis and must learn what a ' psychosis ' really is and that it does not in itself contain any sort of criteria of value.

In psychotic processes of the regressive type what is most important is to create for the libido a fresh object within the ego. In *Das Ich und das Es*, Freud describes in detail the process of identification by which the ego presents itself to the *id* in the likeness of the love-object, in order to be loved instead of this object. In an analogous way we have to induce another ego-component, of which a cathexis can be effected without detriment, to offer itself as an object. If we cannot wrest a wild beast's prey from it by force, we can still get the better of it by craft, by throwing it something else to devour.

When we come upon a psychosis of the restitution-type whilst still in process of formation, our task must be to direct that restitution along paths compatible with reality. Similarly, cases of fully developed restitution-psychosis really come to the same thing, for they, too, constantly require fresh nourishment; and, moreover, these forms also display the tendency readily to regress anew to the ego. To sum up, we may say that the characteristic feature of this therapeutic attempt is that a given clinical picture has to be altered by means of an intervention into the healthy part of the personality which has not undergone narcissistic fixation; it therefore depends upon the existence of such a part. The intervention itself is directly concerned with the object-libido; it is only secondarily and as a result of such intervention that the ego-instincts can be influenced. Throughout the process use is made as it were of a potential energy. We proceed by a circuitous route, in which a considerably lesser degree of possibility of object-cathexis is required than in the attempt to exercise a direct influence in overcoming the narcissism.

This therapeutic technique may further be expressed in purely phenomenological terms as follows: the whole body of capacities and interests may, as I have said above, be arranged in a series according to particular points of view. At one end are those which, when sufficiently developed, act as a protection, rendering the subject immune from the formation of psychoses. The prognosis for intervention in a psychosis depends upon whether there can be found in the remaining and still accessible part of the personality germs of such capacities and interests capable of development. In the maturing of such germs we may look for a complete reversal of the restitution-psychosis, if in so doing we have succeeded in opening up a more pleasurable restitutive path.

Now we come to the dynamic question which lies at the root of this theoretical study: have we at our disposal, in the faint trace of object-cathexes or in the narcissistic transference, the requisite force for an intervention of this sort? It would seem that this question must be answered in the affirmative. It is true that we cannot exercise control over directly narcissistic fixations, but on the circuitous route which we have chosen we are moving only in those strata which are still exposed to contact with the outside world, and we have selected as our 'point of Archimedes' the remainder of the personality still preserved in health. Thus, whatever may be the difficulties with which this method of treating the psychoses may still be faced and wherever

we may have to fix the limits of its applicability, at least we are not confronted with anything dynamically impossible. The cures which psychiatry has so far effected, no less than the spontaneous processes of recovery,[16] may be interpreted in accordance with the view here put forward.

Bleuler defines schizophrenia as a contest with autism, obviously undertaken on behalf of object-relations. Autism is what we have

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[16] It will be recalled that in the paranoiac, Dr. Schreber, during the last part of his stay in an institution, his psychosis finally became reduced to a clearly-defined delusional system, the rest of his personality being completely restored. Without dogmatizing as to the importance of the suggestion, I think it not impossible that this partial recovery was connected with the struggle for mental freedom (upon which he brought to bear remarkable juristic acuteness of intellect) which Dr. Schreber put up simultaneously with, and in consequence of, this improvement. I would suggest that the meaning of this connection is that this reversal of the morbid process became possible only when the patient's narcissistic libido attached itself to this intellectual work and to the real goals which it set before him. Unfortunately in this case we do not know the causes for this change in the points of attachment of the subject's narcissism and its union with other instinctual tendencies. Strindberg acquired a post-psychotic personality to some extent compatible with real life and which enabled him to overcome his delusion when he found a path of restitution compatible with reality. In this connection he writes: 'I will not deny that the beginning was difficult and that the empty space which enclosed my personality clamoured to be filled. The fact that I had severed my contact with other human beings seemed at first to diminish my strength; at the same time, however, my ego began as it were to coagulate and to solidify round an inner core, where all that I had ever experienced accumulated, was digested and absorbed as mental food. Meanwhile it became my habit to reproduce in literary form all that I saw and heard in the house, in the street or outside in the world of nature. Thus I related all my observations to my work of the moment, and in so doing I felt my power grow, and my solitary studies proved more valuable than those which I had pursued outside in social intercourse with my fellow-creatures'. In an analogous manner Gerard de Nerval freed himself from the acute phase of his psychosis, when he perceived the necessity for being able to master at will the sensations which he experienced as pleasurable. At the same time, having discovered that dreams must have a meaning, he devoted himself to their interpretation. His theories on the subject, however, were still strongly tinged with mysticism and so his recovery was only very incomplete.

termed the form of narcissism incompatible with reality. To supplement this, and in part to carry it further, we may require in addition that the narcissism opposed to reality be changed into a form compatible with reality. I would point out here that this train of thought (upon which this paper is based) is closely connected with the theories formulated by Bleuler.[17]

From the historical point of view the place of this investigation in the evolution of the psycho-analytical theory of the psychoses will be somewhat as follows: Freud and Abraham having postulated the withdrawal of the libido into the ego and having compared this with the narcissistic phase of libidinal organization, Freud went on to discover in the symptoms of insanity attempts at restitution. We are now suggesting the possibility that these processes may be resolved in ways either compatible or incompatible with reality, and are endeavouring to indicate the relations existing between these different ways. Our therapeutic efforts must take two directions: first, that of bringing into consciousness the libidinal processes and, secondly, that of influencing the healthy parts of the personality.

Since I intend to reserve the account of clinical cases for a separate discussion, the technical side may be mentioned here only in so far as it can be immediately deduced from our theoretical postulates. At all events the treatment must begin with an extremely passive period which enables the analyst to find out what are the possibilities before him. In this phase the transference (which is pre-eminently a narcissistic one) will sustain the relation. Only after this period can he plan his intervention, and begin the endeavour to effect sublimations which have an affinity to narcissism. Generally speaking, we shall always advance hand in hand with narcissism, avoiding frustration in regard to the narcissistic ideal and steadily aiming at affording narcissistic gratification compatible with reality. Only a very wide experience will determine how far these methods enable us to influence cases of psychosis.

In the writer's opinion a communication which puts forward more problems than conclusions is justified by the hope that by summarizing the experience of different observers we may hasten the practical solution of the problems under discussion.

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[17] Cf. Bleuler, *Schizophrenien*, S. 64, 73–74, *et al.*

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY[1]

BY

OWEN BERKELEY-HILL

RANCHI, INDIA.

Last year, at your invitation, it was my privilege to bring to your notice some considerations, based on the knowledge which psycho-analysis has given us, of that particular problem in sociology which usually goes by the name of ' The Colour Question.' In that connection I tried to show that it is by no means improbable that the resistance encountered by any attempt to solve this problem owes at least part of its strength to the universal association of the idea of evil with blackness.

To-day, with your permission, I wish to try and apply similar considerations to another important aspect of sociology, namely the relations that exist between Hindus and Indian Muslim. As with the so-called ' Colour Question,' so also in the observable manifestations of the communal existence of Hindus and Muslim in this country there is very definite evidence that the emotional tone of the situation is greatly over-determined. It is almost impossible nowadays to pick up a newspaper published in India that does not contain some reference to the perennial feud between Hindus and Muslim. In the Punjab the feeling-tone has reached such a pitch of intensity that the local government had to take measures to restrain the violence displayed by both communities, one towards the other, in mutual vilification in the local Press.

Now I think that all students of psycho-analysis are agreed that whenever and wherever we meet with a strong emotional feeling associated with some form of human relationship, whether it be between individuals or communities, the chances are very much in favour of our finding that the main source of that feeling resides in the unconscious. When, as in the circumstances under review, every effort to reduce or to dispel such feeling invariably leads to nothing, our supposition that the feeling is mainly derived from the unconscious becomes almost a certainty. Hence we are at liberty to regard most of those causes cited as determinants of the violent emotions which usually characterize Hindu-Muslim relations as nothing more nor less than rationalizations

[1] Read before the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society, 1924.

of excessive energy of unconscious origin. The first question that naturally arises is whether the present state of affairs represents a normal reaction on the part of the Hindus to an exceptional degree of tyranny from their Muslim conquerors, or whether there is not some special feature in the psychology of either the Hindus or of the Muslim that has prevented successfully the possibility of a permanent understanding founded on mutual goodwill. We may proceed to examine this problem. I think we are all aware that from the date of the first Muslim invasion of India in the thirteenth century, down to the collapse of the Moghul empire in 1857, the record of all its Muslim rulers, with the sole exception of Akbar, is one of bullying and spoliation. Now the two principal grievances of the Hindus against the Muslim have always been the defilement of Hindu places of worship and the slaughter of cows, although to-day, owing partly to British rule, defilement of Hindu temples is a comparatively rare occurrence. Subsidiary causes for antagonism between Hindus and Muslim doubtless exist in the inherent violence of Islam, the chief manifestation of which is a strong leaning towards proselytizing.

Nevertheless, when all allowances have been made for every feature of Islam capable of becoming a source of displeasure to Hindus, we are still confronted with the fact that in other parts of the world Muslim live continually on amicable terms with non-Muslim. For example, in Egypt, in Abyssinia, and in China, there are millions of Muslim who in spite of the highly militant character of Islam manage to live peaceably with their non-Muslim neighbours. In Egypt the Muslim are the rulers of the Christian Copts ; in Abyssinia they are the subjects of Nestorian Christians ; in China they mingle on equal terms with either Taoists or the followers of Confucius. In these circumstances we are left with the problem of discovering any other factor or factors which have given rise to the apparently irreconcilable feud between Hindus and Indian Muslim. The task is made no more easy by the fact that there is no marked racial difference between the two main groups of the people of India. Indeed, the vast majority of Indian Muslim are descendants of Hindus who became converted to Islam in the past. Again, in respect to the languages spoken by Hindus and Muslim, no difference of any significance can be said to exist. The more historically minded of us might raise the point that the basis of Hindu-Muslim antagonism can be recognised in the fact that the Muslim arrived in India as invaders and conquerors and by so doing engendered a feeling of hostility in the Hindu mind that could

never be eradicated. But, it must be remembered, Islam arrived in Egypt, too, as the creed of conquering invaders and the native Egyptians passed passively from the domain of Greece to that of the followers of Muhammad.

We may here conclude our survey of what may be regarded as the main ' conscious ' factors of the hostility felt by all Hindus for Muslim with the reflection that so far nothing has been discovered that could possibly account either for the ferocity or for the vitality of the sentiments experienced by Hindus for their Muslim fellow-countrymen. The only method of investigation that now remains to us is the psychoanalytic, so to it we may turn our attention.

In his interesting study of the age-long quarrel between Ireland and England, Ernest Jones has shown that at least a portion of the misunderstanding between the people of Ireland and England may be ascribed to the existence in the Irish of a very intimate association of the idea of Ireland with ideas of woman, mother, virgin. He suggests that had the English appreciated the full significance of this association of ideas they would perhaps have wooed Ireland with the offer of an honourable alliance instead of ravishing her virginity as though she were a harlot.

Now it seems to me that some analogy may be found in this aspect of the relations between England and Ireland and that adopted by the Muslim conquerors of India towards their Hindu subjects, because the most popular tutelary deities of India are the divine Matris or Mothers, and mother-worship is extended everywhere throughout India. Every living mother is venerated by Hindu children as a kind of deity. Every Hindu village has its special guardian-mother, Mata or Amma. There are no doubt tutelary male deities, but the mother is the favourite object of adoration, for activity, power and force (*sakti*) are regarded as her peculiar attributes. The worship of the divine Mothers (Matris) is a branch of Saivism, and particularly that form of Saivism called Saktism. As you are all doubtless aware, in the Mahabharat Durga is celebrated not only as the slayer of Mahisha but as a virgin goddess who dwells in the Vindhya mountains. She upholds heaven by her chastity and is foster sister of Krishna. Later she becomes the wife of Siva and is identified with the Vedas, the Vedanta, chastity, but is no longer regarded as a virgin. The narrative of the Chandi-mahatmya celebrates the mighty deeds of the goddess and refers to her daily worship and autumnal festival, while the three hymns contained in it and the hymns from the Harivansa contain the theology of the cult.

A Devo-worshipping sect is here formed ; the Devi becomes identified with the Brahman of the Upanishads, and is thus made the only Reality, set far above all other divinities. The concept of the divine *sakti* finds here its earliest expression.

It would be an impertinence for me in the face of a highly educated Hindu audience to try further to expound this theme, so I will conclude this portion of my argument by observing that the very ancient cult of mother-worship among Hindus has resulted in the production of an association of ideas between the ' mother ' concept and the land in which they live. The comparatively modern slogan of ' Bande Mataram ' does, I think, support my contention. In these circumstances, that is to say, the close association of the idea of India in the Hindu mind with the ideas of woman, mother, virgin, through the very ancient cult of Mother-goddess worship, would inevitably lead to an expression by the Hindus of the same type of bitter hatred against those who violated their beloved mother-land (namely, the Muslim), as this same association of ideas has evoked in the Irish against their English conquerors.

But in addition to the hatred they created for themselves by their violation of the Hindu mother-land, the Muslim manufactured yet another source of horror by their provocative slaughter of cows. By these deeds the Muslim stirred up an even more potent mass of feeling by disturbing that constellation of primitive ideas and their affects to which we are nowadays accustomed to refer as taboo.

As many observers have pointed out, taboos are very ancient prohibitions. The oldest and most important prohibitions are, according to Freud, the two basic laws of totemism : namely, not to kill the totem animal, and to avoid sexual intercourse with totem companions of the other sex.

Now I venture to maintain that there is a good deal of evidence to support the view that at a very remote period in India the cow was a totem animal in the real sense (as indeed it still is to-day among certain primitive tribes in Chota Nagpur, Central and Southern India), but that in consequence of the development of cattle-breeding among the people of India an end has been put to the pure and rigorous totemism of earliest times. Although the killing of the totem animal is ordinarily completely forbidden, there are in every case ceremonies at which the totem must be killed and is killed, but in a highly ceremonial manner. The cow was no exception to this rule. For example, in the Taittiriya-Brahmana various ceremonies are mentioned at which cattle had to be sacrificed. At the ceremony of Sradha particularly was the aroma of

beef held to be an excellent aliment for the spirits of the dead. Freud states that according to Robertson Smith every sacrifice was originally a clan sacrifice, and that the killing of a sacrificial animal originally belongs to those acts which were forbidden to the individual and were only justified if the whole kin assumed the responsibility. In Kantilya's Arthasastra, a famous work on politics written about 200 B.C., there is much to be found in support of the existence among the Hindus of that time of a widely spread totemism. Trees, birds, snakes, cows and other animals seem to have been among the principal totems. Further evidence of the totemistic significance of the cow lies in the fact that, although Sikhism connoted a great religious reform, the divinity of the cow was insisted upon, and that to such an extent that the killing of a cow is for the Sikhs the most heinous of crimes—although, it may be remarked, there exists in the Granth no injunction against cow-killing !

If then we can establish our claim that at one time the cow was a totem animal for the Hindus, it follows that its destruction was for them a violation of taboo. Further, as he who does what is prohibited and violates taboo becomes himself taboo, it is inevitable that the Muslim conqueror became an object of detestation—more especially because he invariably slaughtered cows to ratify his victories or to show his contempt for Hindu ' superstition '. But the consequences of violating a taboo do not stop here. An individual who has violated a taboo becomes himself taboo, because he has the dangerous property of tempting others to follow his example. He arouses envy ; why should he be allowed to do what is prohibited to others ? He is therefore really contagious, in so far as every example incites to imitation, and therefore he himself must be avoided. Not only this : a person may become permanently or temporarily taboo without having violated any taboos, for the simple reason that he is in a condition which has the property of inciting the forbidden desires of others and of awakening the ambivalent conflict in them. Hence, it is clear that the violation of certain taboo-prohibitions becomes a social danger which must be punished or expiated by all the members of the clan lest it harm them all.

It might here be asked why have the cow-killing practices of Muslim provoked greater hostility from Hindus than the killing of cows by Christians or Jews ? I would reply to this that neither Christians or Jews kill cows ceremonially. Also, unlike Muslim, neither Christians nor Jews have ever killed cows with the deliberate intention of offering

insult to Hindus. On the other hand, Muslim have not only practised the ceremonial killing of cows, for example at Bakr Id, but have slaughtered them with the specific intention of injuring Hindu susceptibilities. Therefore, because cow-killing by Muslim has always been conducted in a fashion most calculated to arouse in the Hindu the ambivalent feeling towards his totem—that is, the feeling to cherish but also to destroy—it has come about that the disagreeable affect associated with this situation has invariably got displaced on to the Muslim.

To sum up then, it may be presumed that the feeling of hatred which most Hindus experience for Muslim is derived from two main sources: (1) The Mother-land complex and (2) The Cow-totem. Through ravishing the mother the Muslim have won for themselves the kind of hatred which the Irish showed the English on account of England's attitude towards Ireland. By the destruction of the terrible cow-totem, the Muslim have encountered the fury that is the portion of every violater of a totem, not solely for violating the totem but as well for arousing those ambivalent feelings for the totem which are an integral feature of totem worship.

In my opinion the second source of hatred, i.e. that evoked by violation of the totem, is by far the more important of the two. Hence it seems not unlikely that if some measure could be devised to eliminate the hatred aroused by the destruction of the cow-totem, the other would gradually fade away of itself.

Now for any measure to eradicate the hatred for the violation of the totem to be of the slightest practical value it would have to have some affinity with the fundamental ideas which underlie totemism. That is to say, any reconciliation between Hindus and Muslim would demand as a cardinal feature some form of ceremonial in which cows would be killed and eaten, either actually or symbolically, by Hindus and Muslim in conclave. It is quite conceivable that this killing and eating of cows could be so arranged as to fulfil every demand from a psychological standpoint without involving the death of a single animal, although in view of the great issues at stake, namely the formation of a real and permanent pact between Hindus and Muslim, the actual sacrifice of every cow in India would hardly be too big a price to pay. Anyhow, whatever the sacrifice found to be necessary, in moral or in material wealth, to bring to a permanent and competely satisfactory settlement this distressing problem of Indian sociology, it is to be hoped that the sacrifice will be gladly paid.

A PECULIAR CUSTOM OBSERVED ON THE ISLAND OF MARKEN, IN HOLLAND

BY

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Psycho-analysis has often endeavoured to apply its methods and views to folk-psychology. It was in the nature of the case that the primary object of study thus selected was not civilized peoples but rather the manners and customs of the races of antiquity and of uncivilized peoples of the present time. For in the course of evolution the conditions of life amongst civilized races have grown much too complicated. It is amongst primitive peoples that we meet with the simplest conditions and it is their manners and customs which are most easily comprehended.

Even at the present day, however, we come across certain races in civilized countries who live in a state of isolation and whose customs are strikingly unusual; and who consequently arouse our interest from the point of view of folk-psychology. We have an instance of this sort in the inhabitants of Marken, a little island with a population of barely 1,300, situated in the Zuyderzee, about four kilometers (two and a half miles) from the mainland. The reason probably is that for many centuries the inhabitants have been isolated from the rest of the world; it is possible that their natural persistency and conservatism form other contributory factors.

It was early in the thirteenth century that the island of Marken emerged from the sea, and at about that date a small tribe migrated thither from Friesland. All the inhabitants were fishermen. The men went to sea and the women stayed at home and cultivated the land. Till quite recently this tribe still lived in great retirement and seclusion, and it is only in the last few decades that the people of Marken have had freer communication with the rest of the world. To-day the island is frequently visited by foreigners; in summer especially there is a stream of tourists coming from all parts of the world to see Marken, its inhabitants and their peculiar costume. In the winter, on the other hand, the island is deserted by the tourists; the inhabitants once more live, as in the old days, in isolation, in simple houses built on piles, for at that season the island is often flooded. The same race has been living there now for centuries; they are completely endogamous,

in fact marriage with persons other than the inhabitants of Marken is forbidden. For the last few decades, however, this prohibition has been less rigidly enforced than formerly. Further, the people of Marken differ in physique from the rest of the Dutch. They are invariably tall, of a sturdy build and yellow-haired.

It is not the first time that this island and its inhabitants have been made the subject of scientific investigation. As early as 1828 Blumenbach described a skull of one of the people of Marken and at the present day this skull is in the anatomical museum at Göttingen. On account of its peculiar formation he called it *Batavus Genuinus* and maintained that in it the original shape of the skull of the Germanic races is preserved in its purest form. Virchow too, in 1877, compared the *Batavus Genuinus* with the Neandertal skull. But the investigations of Bolk and Barge in 1910 have proved that the unusual contours of the Marken skull are caused by the peculiar custom of tightly binding the skull of the child directly after birth and even permanently. However, we will not dwell on this point, but pass on to our real subject.

One of the most remarkable customs in Marken is this: that till they reach their seventh year *the boys wear girls' clothes*. They have the same kind of dresses and caps and the same long hair. The only thing which distinguishes boys from girls is that the former have a bright vertical stripe on the front of their coats. Apart from some trifling differences in embroidery and the said bright stripe, the boys' clothes are exactly like the girls'. But as soon as the boys are seven years old they are given the usual masculine costume, with short, wide trousers and tight jerseys, and this turns them into a miniature edition of the adult men. Obviously we must suppose that there is some reason for this peculiar custom. The people of Marken themselves cannot tell anything about it, and if they ever did know the reason it has evidently been forgotten. If they are asked about it they can only say that ' it is the custom '. We, however, have every reason to assume strong motives for this peculiarity, motives of which the people themselves are ignorant. For the costume is so unpractical for little boys that it is a considerable hindrance to their play. It is left to us, then, to find out the meaning of this interesting custom without the help of the natives.

We might at first sight assume that the simple reason for the custom was that the people of Marken tried to make the two sexes like one another in order, from motives of exaggerated prudery, to defer sexual

enlightenment. But in that case why did they dress the boys in girls' clothes and not the girls in boys' clothes, which would be much simpler and more practical? Obviously, so simple an explanation as this is inadequate. In looking for an adequate one we must keep in mind the important fact that it is only the boys who are affected by this custom; it does not weigh upon the little girls.

In seeking for an explanation let us call in an impartial judge, namely, a little boy of six years old or so. If we show him a picture of a little Marken boy in girls' clothes and ask him if he would like to be dressed so, he will express his disgust in the roundest terms and will obviously regard the suggestion as insulting and humiliating. His attitude gives us the key to our problem. Clearly this peculiar custom is based on a real humiliation, the intention being to make the boys the same as the girls. We might call it a symbolic castration inflicted by an unknown hand. And if we watch the little boys of Marken playing and romping in girls' clothes we cannot escape the impression of a humiliation which has accomplished its purpose. Assuming then that actually, though unconsciously, the intention does exist of symbolically reducing boys and girls to the same level, let us take this premise as a reliable basis for further conclusions.

If we ask who is responsible for this humiliation we see that there are only two people who have the power to inflict it, namely, the father and the mother. The psycho-analytic study of individuals has given us a knowledge of hidden mental impulses which enables us in this case to see in the father the person who humiliates the boy in Marken. It is only the father who has any reason to fear his son and to suppress the boy's growing sexual potency. Curiously enough, however, as soon as the boys are seven years old they are given men's clothes, a circumstance which helps us to solve the riddle completely. As I said before, the men spend most of their lives at sea, whilst the women and children stay at home on the island. Hence we are justified in supposing that in earlier times, when as yet there was no school in Marken, the boys as soon as they were seven years old went off with their fathers and so were withdrawn from the society of their mothers and sisters. Accordingly this custom would be explained as a defence against the incestuous tendencies of the son, tendencies suppressed by the father in the way indicated. In *Totem and Tabu* Freud has described other almost magical practices of this sort and gives a similar explanation of them. It is a remarkable fact that in this case a custom of the kind should be found, not in an uncivilized race but in a small group of

people situated right in the midst of a highly civilized people. I think the reason must be that for something like seven centuries the people of Marken have lived in complete isolation and married exclusively amongst themselves. In Marken the incest of which they have so great a fear is no fiction : on the contrary, in the course of centuries it has become a fact. Another noteworthy point in our case is the command never to marry a stranger, which in so small a group of people amounts to a command to perpetrate incest. Here we have the exact opposite of the exaggerated incest-prohibition under totemism, but the command and the prohibition alike spring from the same instinctual impulse, namely, that of incest. The remarkable defensive measure of putting the boys into girls' clothes shows that even the inhabitants of Marken have not practised incest for centuries with impunity.

SENSATION AND NARCISSISM

BY

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LONDON

A great deal has lately been achieved by Abraham and others in tracing out step by step the successive stages reached by the child in its libido-development and showing the manifold relationships between these libido-positions and traits of character in the adult. The elucidation of character-formation has thus been worked out with convincing clarity and a solid and detailed structure of knowledge built up.

In view of this achievement one is tempted to view the structure from another angle, to attempt to trace the compatibility of this part of psycho-analytic investigation with the points reached by other investigators and to speculate on the paths along which further progress is most likely to be reached.

When considering the factors influencing the development of character the question is very near: 'What factors cause one libido-position to be given up in favour of the next?'

As an example, we may consider the passage from the early to the late anal stage. In the early stage the gratifications of the child consist largely in the stimulation of the mucous membrane of the anus, in the agreeable warmth and softness of the mass of fæces against the skin, and in the stimulation of the mucous membrane of the nose by smell. Under external influences the child is caused to regulate the first of these, to give up the second entirely, and to give up the third almost entirely. Now these gratifications are all sensational. In the later anal stage almost the only new sensational gratification is such sensation as there may be in the sphincter muscles. A poor substitute! It is against the pleasure-principle to assume that a libido-position can be given up without a complete substitute. We must believe that in the growing and developing child more and not less quantities of libido have to be accounted for at each stage. Therefore in the later anal stage other non-sensational outlets for the libido must be found. One outlet, as is well known, is found in external objects. The child is somewhat compensated for its lack of sensational gratification when it obtains its parents' approval for being good and clean, for doing its duty. But the child's frequent refusal to do its duty when placed on the chamber, its cries and protests, indicate that it is not adequately

compensated hereby for the loss of gratification previously obtainable. A part of the remaining libido is left behind at the previous stage and may be repressed, breaking through, for instance, in the miser's pleasure in the *touch* of money. Now there is still a surplus of libido which forms a third form of cathexis, and it is some of the aspects of this third form that we may investigate more closely. The third cathexis is to another object—an internal one—the ego. The child finds pleasure in discovering a new source of power in itself, its control of its sphincter muscle. This libidinal cathexis is found all the more readily because of the analogy pointed out by Abraham between the sphincter muscle and the muscles of the lips employed during sucking. Control of the sphincter compensates for the narcissistic injury of weaning. The child finds that it has more power to control the flow of fæces than it had to control the flow of milk. This relationship of the late anal and oral stages is neatly borne out by the rationalization of miserly people. They convince themselves that if they do not hoard their wealth they will starve. They equate sphincter and lips.

To repeat what was said above, there are, apart from fixations on earlier stages, three main groups of libidinal cathexes belonging to each stage of development:

a. Of sensation—auto-erotism.

b. Of an internal object—narcissism.

c. Of an external object—object-love.

The child that refuses to perform when placed on the chamber is transferring its allegiance from the external object, the parent or nurse, to the internal object, the ego. Its love of power is being gratified. Power of control of the sphincter muscle, an ego-development, is thus brought about by two influences: educational efforts working through the super-ego and the direct narcissistic attachment between ego and *id*. In making itself more proficient, and incidentally implying that it is substituting itself for the faithless nipple, the ego offers itself to the *id* as a love-object. We must conclude from this that the narcissistic libidinal cathexis performs a useful function in replacing auto-erotism by ego-development.

Both groups *b* and *c* mentioned above, the narcissistic and the object-cathexes, can supply the energy and produce the reaction-formations necessary for repressing still persisting attachments to earlier stages. This is in accordance with Wälder [1]:

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[1] *Cf.* p. 262 of this JOURNAL.

' It seems that two principal types of repression correspond to two principal types of ideal ; a moral one with the content : " I must not do that, think it, for father forbade it," and a narcissistic one, which enjoins : " That cannot be, for it would humiliate me, it is not compatible with my lofty, noble, nature." The first form of repression leads by compromise formation to neurosis, the second seems the basis for withdrawal of the libido into the ego and by the way of compensation (Tausk) to lead to psychosis.'

In passing it may be mentioned that these remarks of Wälder's confine themselves to the repressive, that is negative, function of these two libidinal cathexes. The mechanism of their positive action in building up the ego is very obscure and would deserve further study. On the analogy of chemical reactions, if for no other reason, one is inclined to ask whether ego-modification may not demand psychical energy, that is the expenditure of libido, and may not thus be a factor preventing an undue accumulation that would have to flow off through channels formed by a regression. The relationship between development and neuroses gives some support to such a view. Ego-development is most rapid during childhood and the child is comparatively free from neuroses. Ego-development continues less rapidly through adult life until it stops or slows down at the climacteric. On this theory the libido employed narcissistically in ego-development is released at the climacteric. It then flows off partly through the channel of object-choice, partly through channels of regression, causing the two phenomena characteristic of the climacteric, the ' Indian summer ' and the increase of neurotic symptoms.

During the pregenital period we have at each new stage an increase of the narcissistic and a diminution of the sensational libidinal cathexes, until immediately before puberty is reached there is little sensational erotism left ; what there is, is almost entirely an oral-erotic remnant, the child's pleasure in sweet things. Then at puberty the position is completely altered. The narcissistic element recedes enormously and gives way on the one side to object-attachment and on the other to a restoration of the sensational element, which now centres principally on the genitals but is by no means confined to them. The whole of the surface of the body becomes more or less sensationally erotic, the individual begins to like physical comfort, he smokes, he drinks. His capacity for enjoying pictures and music increases. In fact, all the senses become sources of pleasure once more.

It should here be borne in mind that in most individual cases this

process is obscured by a good deal of overlapping. Narcissism may give way to a return of sensation and even to object-choice in one direction, while in another direction it is still on the increase.

It seems that a study of this theme of the proportional distribution of libido between sensational, narcissistic and object-attachments may be the way towards solving the baffling problem of election of neurosis. Wälder's remarks quoted above give a hint in this direction.

The return of sensational erotism at puberty is significant. It seems to confirm the view that this side of the pregenital stages is repressed narcissistically rather than through the super-ego. When object-relationships become more important, the super-ego, being nearest to these, would be strengthened ; and what is repressed by this organ would be more strongly repressed than ever. That, for instance, may be the fate of the Œdipus complex at the age of puberty, when the young person tends to draw closer to the parent of the same sex, to effect a stronger identification with that parent and, for a time, to show rather less awareness of the parent of the opposite sex. If sensation or auto-erotism were also repressed by the ego-ideal one might expect a similar increase in the repression. As sensation returns at puberty, it is more probable that it is repressed by the ego and that at this stage the diminished narcissism has become too weak to keep up the repression.

The narcissistic cathexis in the child would on this theory perform the function of restraining the *passive* sensational erotism and developing the *activity* of the ego. Viewed in this light, each increase in the child's narcissism represents an achievement, a triumph of activity over passivity, of accomplishment over auto-erotism. It has been won at the sacrifice of an indulgence. Thus does his narcissism actually appear to the neurotic. Activities which to the dispassionate observer appear idle or anti-social, which reveal to the analyst the lack of object-relationships and over-strong pregenital fixations, appear to the person himself as commendable. They stand between him and his repressed auto-erotism and fill him with a sense of right doing. It is largely this sense of right doing that carries the Napoleons of this world (strongly narcissistic types) along, and carries other people along with them. It is this sense which makes the financier proudly say : ' I invest my money carefully, I do not waste it on drink and luxuries.' He is comparing favourably the active side of the late with the passive side of the early anal-erotic stage. When the dilettante, whose attitude towards his mental products reveals all the characteristics of an anal-erotic fixation, says : ' I am not content to work in an office on a

routine job and draw my regular salary once a month, *I* produce something,' he is comparing favourably the active side of the early anal-erotic with the passive side of the oral stage. This sense of right doing is doubtless one of the great difficulties with which the analyst has to cope when treating a patient whose fixations are predominantly on the narcissistic side. This sense arises out of the narcissistic repression of the sensational features of previous stages. As an alternative to his narcissism, the neurotic can only see a return of the repressed ; he cannot conceive of an advance to object-cathexis.

This clinging to narcissism, accompanied by the feeling that it is the right thing to do, shows itself often in the normal boy just before the genital stage is reached. He embraces outdoor exercise, positively worships bodily fitness. He despises courting as being ' soft, unmanly '. It seems that it is the (biologically determined) return of sensation, against which his narcissism reacts with a final effort. This disturbing recrudescence of sensation is interpreted by the individual as a regression to earlier more passive stages and so the narcissistic reactions against this auto-erotism are reinforced, as long as the narcissism can keep strong enough. The adolescent's fight against masturbation seems similarly motivated. How often does this fight commence with the reading of a book explaining that the practice is damaging to health. Of course, one cannot deny the importance of a further motivation in a sense of guilt arising out of the Œdipus complex.

As the boy or girl fights against giving up narcissism in favour of sensation, he or she also fights against giving it up in favour of object-cathexis. This fight manifests itself as a compromise-formation in the tendency towards a homosexual object-choice.

This ultimate pregenital stage, at which sensation has reached a minimum and narcissism a maximum, seems important enough to deserve a name of its own. It might be called the ascetic or narcissistic or asocial stage, as persons who have not got past this stage tend to show these characteristics. Perhaps it is no other than what Freud has termed the phallic stage. It is certainly marked by a maximum of activity corresponding to the almost complete repression of sensation. To this stage we should allocate the more virile and frequently sport-loving homosexual type, whose object-choice is a compromise between the narcissistic and the feminine. Very good, somewhat different examples seem to be the schizoid type described in Wälder's paper referred to above, certain athletes and a whole number of the world's great thinkers whose mental activities are at what Wälder calls the

narcissistic end of the scale—mathematicians and philosophers. It is surprising what a large number of these were not married: Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Newton, Spinoza, Nietzsche, Cavendish, to mention only a few. History records little in the way of neuroses or perversions or, in fact, any of the usual concomitants of incomplete object-love in the case of these men. Much light is thrown on such cases by Wälder, who suggests that the libido, though employed narcissistically, finds an outlet compatible with reality and therefore achieves indirectly an object-cathexis towards more or less impersonal things of the outer world.

A characteristic of all these men is the marked development they show throughout their active life. In this they show a resemblance to the pregenital conditions as also in their freedom from neurotic symptoms. Again the surmise is forced upon us that ego-development may be a substitute for neurosis by providing an outlet for pent-up libido. If the personages cited escape with good health, owing, as suggested, to some strange capacity for continuous growth, others without this capacity will not do so. At a narcissistic injury or when for some other reason their powers of development cease, the effect is liable to be sudden and tragic. Hence those people of brilliant achievement or promise who end in asylums. The end occurs on a failure of the ego. The narcissistic love suffers a disappointment and the effect of this is the counterpart to the effect when an external love-object proves unworthy. In the latter case the external object is introjected and exposed to the *id's* sadistic onslaughts. When the internal love-object, the ego, proves unworthy, it is projected and similarly made the object of sadistic attacks. This may result in paranoic states, or in less extreme cases produce the weaknesses of this type of eminent man in later life; vanity, boastfulness, quarrelsomeness, touchiness on questions of priority, pettiness about personal recognition. What we observe is the well-known restitution attempt at object-relationships characteristic of paranoic states.

It seems that in other cases the restitution attempt may go in the other direction. Instead of an attempt to achieve the object-relationship of the genital stage, there is an attempt to achieve the sensational erotism of this stage. All that succeeds in this attempt is a step by step regression to the earliest sensational stages, giving rise to catatonia. In this case the argument would be: 'Why should I bother to repress sensation if my ego does not do its part, if it lets me down for all my trouble?'

Other less extreme morbid manifestations may also be partially determined as restitution attempts, that is, attempts to reach the genital stage of sensation and object-cathexis in cases where infantile fixations make this attempt abortive. As one example out of the many, one might suggest certain aspects of dipsomania. To describe this as an oral sensational gratification appears to be altogether too crude. The dipsomaniac does not give the impression of wanting wholly or even principally the oral sensational gratification of drinking. He rather seems to look forward to feeling the fire in his veins, to achieving a strong sensation permeating his body. The concomitant attempt at object-cathexis of the alcoholic, which as in the adolescent shows a homosexual tendency, is too well known to require emphasis. One queer aspect of the many conflicts centreing round alcoholism is relevant to this theme. There is a tendency among many people to refer to the glorious feeling of being drunk as if they were proud of their capacity for this feeling. The implication is that this capacity is a proof of manliness. Out of this connection of ideas—the identification of intoxication and coitus—arises the form in which the dipsomaniac makes his restitution attempt. He hopes to prove when drunk his capacity for the sensational gratification of the genital stage, he tries to persuade himself and others that, when drunk, he does achieve that pleasure which proves him to be a man. There often appears to be an element of protesting over-much about his assertions which makes the observer suspect that, in fact, the sensational gratification is a disappointing one.

A brief summary of the foregoing speculations will help towards clarity.

Repression of the pleasure in infantile *activity* is chiefly effected by the ego-ideal ; repression of the pleasure in infantile *sensation* is chiefly effected narcissistically. Whereas the former largely bears on the individual's social relationships, the latter is of the greater importance for the development of his ego. When a sensational gratification is given up the released libido is partly employed narcissistically and fulfils the useful purpose of ego-development. Ego-development is compatible with the pleasure-principle because this process absorbs libido. Any check to the development of the ego is liable to result in the outbreak of a morbid symptom because the libido must find a new outlet. At the genital stage of development a large accumulated mass of narcissistic libido must be converted into sensation and object-love. One of the difficulties in the way of this conversion lies in the fact

that progression to genital sensation resembles regression to infantile sensation. Individuals whom a narcissistic rather than an auto-erotic employment of the libido has enabled to reach the last pregenital stage and who are barred by early fixations from making the final step to the genital stage show the characteristics of activity, egotism, capability, unawareness of much in their surroundings, and may be described as schizoid types more liable to psychoses than neuroses. In addition to the familiar restitution attempts in the direction of object-relationships we should recognize restitution attempts in the direction of sensation. These occur as a response to a narcissistic injury and should be looked for as a probable factor in numerous morbid symptoms.

A CASE OF KLEPTOMANIA IN A GIRL OF TEN YEARS

BY

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The history of the case narrated by the mother was briefly this: the child had suffered from kleptomania for five years; at first the coveted articles were mainly *pins*, especially those with glass heads, and *pencils*, although other small objects, belonging to father and brother, as well as *pennies* from the pockets of schoolmates, were added to the list of depredations; these last were not kept, but spent upon bus rides with her little sister. The patient was the middle child of three, with a brother one year older and a sister five years younger, of whom the mother said, 'She *will* be loved', adding that none of them, including the maid, cared much for the elder.

The mother also complained of other symptoms, that the child was becoming very deaf and exceedingly nervous; her hand shook when she used a knife; she could not ride inside a bus or car; was sick in the train; and looked as if something were hanging over her, which was not surprising, as the mother had given me a description of punishments ranging from severe beatings to pious talks at bed-time, which latter may have had something to do with the deafness. Two or three of the mother's remarks are worth recording in reference to later events.

1. The head-mistress of the child's school recently discovered that a little boy had missed a bright, gold-coloured pencil, and G. had shown an identical one to her schoolfellows later, saying, 'Look what mother's given me!'

2. The mother, *à propos* of a remark of mine about people picking up things, as they thought *inadvertently*, replied, 'I often tuck a pretty tea serviette, instead of my handkerchief, into my belt at a tea-party, but that is thoughtlessness'.

3. The chief symptom became apparent between four and five; she was four and a half years older than her younger sister.

First day. Two days later the analysis commenced; G. seemed quite at her ease. I asked her what she liked talking about, and she replied 'gardens, flowers and birds,' and continued to tell me about them for the whole hour, as follows: in her *garden* she sows *seeds: birds* have *nests*, once she found a little bird fallen out of the nest, which she wanted to put back. She tries to make nests. *Dolls* also played

a significant part in this recital. She and the others play at trains and have accidents. B., the younger child, dresses her father-dolls like girls and her mother-dolls like boys, the girls grow up into fathers. G. used to think so too, and added that her father said he had once been a little girl. When the dolls are naughty they are smacked, one often makes *the dolls one doesn't like* naughty, just to smack them. Babies was the next subject, and how fond she was of B.

Second day. The child soon began to talk about the little sister, who went round the house telling people she had had a baby for a birthday present, done up in a brown-paper parcel. Presently she said, ' B., brother and myself all came from the same doctor ; doctors bring babies. Does he know where they come from ? ' I asked her how long she had wondered. She replied, ' Ever since our baby came. Does doctor make them ? I've wondered and never seen them in a shop. If they're not bought they must get so old. When I want a new doll I find it in the bed.'

Third day. Next day we started where we had left off and G. heard where babies came from, asking in conclusion how they came out, and if I thought she would ever have one of her very own. This led to further recollections of B. as a baby, and fresh fables she had been told about their origin.

Fourth day. The ground being thus prepared, material connected with her negative attitude to both brother and sister appeared, reasons why each was distasteful to her. B. as a baby had taken her toys ; she had never wanted to share anything. She would like to be all alone, the only girl among brothers, or the only boy with a lot of sisters. Of the brother she said, ' I used to want to be the same age as Sonny, and thought when I was his age I could do as he did, but I never caught him up. I don't want to be a boy now, but only older than he.' Then she added, ' Perhaps he will turn into a girl in the night.'

Fifth day. The brother was still occupying her thoughts next day, and she gave a description of a language she had invented with him in her perambulator. Because he was the elder, he had already planned a great deal and they would quarrel over it. Sometimes she did not like his words, or found them difficult and would then invent others of her own. These he, in his turn, would repudiate. G. felt very sad when he pretended not to understand her.

This ended the first week. After the next few weeks curiosity was set free ; innumerable questions were asked about the origin of everything she could see or think of, and she wanted to look inside everything.

Already a marked improvement was apparent in her deafness and the spasmodic movements of her limbs. She returned to school and nothing was missed.

About the twelfth day she told me the only dream recorded during the whole of the analysis. ' I was ever so cross with my Daddy, slapping him and scolding him. He was teasing me and Auntie seemed wanting him to. He is a great tease, and I don't see much of him, I'm very glad. When he comes home in the evening I go upstairs to B.'

Attracted by the holes in my hour-glass, she evinced enormous interest in holes of every sort, and said how fond she was of picking and boring holes, especially when put in the corner or sent on errands. Biting nails and scratching were also habits of hers, and she remembered B. wanting to suck her mother's finger, which reminded her of her own fondness for pencil-sucking. A few days later, by way of india-rubber, which she had heard came out of a tree, she asked if other animals besides cows gave milk, ' the lady animals, I mean, not lions and tigers.' Her idea of ' lady animals ' was founded upon a sexual theory which she described fully some weeks later. At first she thought all birds *mothers*, and all animals *men*, because ' you couldn't expect ladies to run about like that '. Fathers produced the sons and mothers the daughters, a theory assisted by circumstances, because she had a paternal grandfather and a maternal grandmother.

Another interesting discovery she made early in life was the power of magic gestures. She was put out in the garden in her perambulator to sleep and, if no one were in sight, would cry in the hope of attracting some one's attention. When this failed, she threw everything out and then ' some one was sure to come and pick them up '. If the gardener came, she would hide under the hood or cover, and pretend she wasn't there. This delight in hiding explained the taking of pennies for *bus rides*, and a habit of hers when particularly unhappy at home. ' When it is wet, you creep under the covers on top of the bus, and no one knows you are there.' ' At home they say I am deaf, my brother's always wanting me to fetch things. I go and hide on the top shelf of a cupboard amongst the blankets and go to sleep. No one can follow me there. I lie all curled round.' I explained to her that it was not the first time she had lain in this position and how we try to escape from unpleasantness by withdrawing into ourselves and sleep.

The next important subject to be mentioned was the difference between boys and girls. ' How did one know which it was when a baby

came, because they haven't much hair and no clothes. I asked her to try and think, but in vain. She also assured me that she had never seen her brother undressed or bathed.

The first trace of her habit of hiding things in her bed was found after losing a tooth. She liked pulling them out herself, but kept them with an almost primitive fear lest they should be lost or injured, for it would affect herself. Then suddenly she remarked that when she talked about prams she thought about where babies came from, but didn't know why. So I helped her to see the connection.

Another new phase was reached at the twenty-fifth day, when she began to talk more freely about the terrors in the first house where she had lived. There were the trains that roared and clattered along an embankment at the bottom of their garden, which woke her in alarm in the night and by day sent her flying for safety to the garden seat, or under the cover of her pram lest they should tumble down into the garden and kill any one who happened to be there, especially her father or brother. Then again, there was a cupboard where the toys were kept, in which she found a horrible object she took to be the Bogey that her nurse said would come and eat her if she did not go to sleep quickly at night. Other fears connected with this house were going down the hole in the bath with the water, and falling through the seat in the lavatory. They moved from this house shortly before B. was born.

From now onwards, memories continued to emerge respecting her first five years, which further explained the child's neurosis. Details were given of another language, still older than that she had made with the brother. This was all her own, and she used to think grown-ups very stupid not to understand her. This was her ' Cry Language '.

One remembers that pencils were among her earliest appropriations, particularly those belonging to boys. We were to find out more about this. One day her mother asked me if I had noticed a nervous trick of the child's right hand. At school they were teaching her to write with the left. Then she turned to her daughter. ' Shall we cut it off, G. ? ' The child reddened and said, ' No ', evidently horrified. The next day G. sat silent, played with her hands, calling one ' naughty ' and smacking it. She then began to talk about pencils and particularly one special red one she had kept for many years, and hoped never to have sharpened. Then she described a game she used to play with the brother in the garden and the part taken by the red pencil. A pencil would be hidden and the finder kept it. G. always tried to hide other

people's. Should her own be hidden, she would post herself near, ready to pounce upon it first.

About this time the mother told me they had made the journey to my house for the first time that day without difficulties.

Thirty-first day. Holes continued to provide her with material for acute interest. After she had been with me for about a month and the subject had been touched superficially several times, she began to discuss the ' mouth-hole ', and how she had wondered how far it went. ' As one went on eating, it filled up from one's toes, every year a little bit. I used to be afraid that if I ate too much I'd bust ', she said. That was when she was about five, during her mother's pregnancy. She seems to have shared the usual childish phantasy of the baby being made from food, and of anal birth ; she had been very much interested in the excretory functions, but had been told they were ' rude '. Closely allied with the theory that babies come from food was the fear of the child being eaten. One of the terrors connected with Bogey in the toy-cupboard was that he might eat her or her toys. Neither did she like the tram that plunged down underground from Southampton Row to the Embankment, or Tubes ; they more than other trains made her feel sick. The swaying motion made her giddy. She was afraid, too, that buses might fall over on to her, which reminds us of ' *kleiner Hans* ' and his fears of heavily laden wagons that he associated with his pregnant mother. Her next remark drifted back to perambulator days and disputes with her brother when they shared it—how they had fought for sole possession. She had also been convinced that the pram grew smaller as she outgrew it, and hotly denied the suggestion that she was growing. To grow bigger was to lose one's charm in her eyes. Her ambition was to be a kindergarten teacher, but her pupils must never exceed the age of five (her own when the sister came), when they reached that age they must go back to one. She next said how much she would like to go home and find a baby in her bed, and followed it up with material which showed that it also represented herself. B., it appeared, was going round the house talking to herself about having a baby. ' I talk to myself ', said G., ' but no one can hear me. Who is yourself ? Where is myself ? Not sitting on this couch ? Has any one ever seen yourself ? ' This reminded her of children looking in a mirror and believing they saw another child. A few days later she told me how they had once hung a tiny looking-glass on her perambulator. She had asked who the pretty little girl was, and had been told it was herself. Telling this embarrassed her considerably. ' Has any one

wished to be their own little girl ? Yesterday I wished I were Mummy and she my little girl,' she added. Her favourite nursery rhyme was :

> ' As I walks by myself, I talks to myself,
> And says to myself, says I,
> You must care for yourself,
> And beware of yourself,
> For nobody cares for I.'

This idea of caring for or mothering oneself seems related to her double disappointment : first, asking her mother for her baby sister for her own, and second, putting a similar request to the father, who sent her a kitten in a hamper instead. Formerly she had arranged that the brother should have the father and she would keep the mother, until ' B. stole her away ; naughty B. ! ' These memories of early jealousy were stimulated by another little girl having the hour before her own. This narcissistic division within the personality into mother and child was mentioned by Dr. James Glover in a paper read before this Society last summer (1924).

Thirty-eighth day. About this time she mentioned a little boy who stole flowers from their garden. I asked why she thought he did it, and she replied, ' He may want them so much, he can't help taking them ', which probably described her own feelings about her compulsive actions.

Quite a number of G.'s fears were connected with guilty wishes respecting her chief rivals. Her fear about going down the hole in the bath was revived later on by the idea that her brother might be drawn through a sluice whilst bathing, and wondering if B. could be drowned in the bath. Here we find the death-wish modelled upon the original fear and not the reverse situation which one generally sees in the adult. One, however, did follow the more usual order. She was afraid of dustmen, their own gardener, the rag-and-bone man, every one with a moustache, and, for a time, her own father. The fear was explained thus—a man shouted outside my window ; it reminded her of dustmen. Her mother had said that dustmen take naughty little girls away in their sacks.

These phantasies coming to the surface made way for others. Presently the phantasies began to form around a central point, the *theft of the baby* she wanted so much, one of the roots of her symptom. It appears she had been told about eagles carrying off babies, and jackdaws stealing brightly-coloured things, which recalls her preference for such objects, and the attempt to replace little birds in their nests. Once G.

was about to go away with one of my pencils clasped in her hand, but she noticed it and returned it smiling.

The eagle phantasy extended over many weeks and linked itself to memories of hiding coveted toys of her brother's in her bed, and using the same hiding-place for dolls she did not want thrown away. Eagles might devour the babies they carried away, so resembling Mr. Bogey. Only Mr. Eagles did this. What would happen if the eagle dropped the baby? This reminded her of Daddy carrying her on his shoulder and pretending to drop her. 'I felt dreadful so high up, it was like lifts.'

This phantasy faded after a time and a still deeper and older one began to take shape, her *fear of castration* and its core, *penis-envy*. Her series of symbols was extensive: *the pencil* which she hoped would always stay the same size. Her *nose*, which her father had called a 'little button', making her cry. Was anyone ever born without a nose? Injuries to *hand* and *leg* were also pressed into symbolic service. Once she had cut her hand; another time B. cut her leg with a piece of bottle glass from knee to ankle. Every one came to her assistance and took no notice of B., who cried and had to be taken upstairs, but G. fully appreciated the situation and was not at all cross with B. Four days after narrating this incident, she fell off her bicycle and cut her knee. Once more the mother suggested, 'Shall we cut it off?' The knee became very stiff and painful, but nothing was done for it for several days. G., however, treated it with great tenderness, investing it with libido and calling it 'Poor Pussy'. The knee injury was followed by the loss of a tooth with considerable hæmorrhage. She then described how much she had cried when her curls were cut off, and wanted them stitched on again. Some material concerning matches was produced about this time, which showed G. in the rôle of a boy (*forty-fifth day*). She had asked me for some dead matches she had been playing with, but did not take them after all. Next day she brought me these lines:

'Bad matches are plenteous,
Good matches are few,
If I were a boy,
I'd try and match you.'

Matches were connected with her father. She used to ask him for them or for empty match-boxes to play with. She had been very fond of striking matches and throwing them down anywhere.

Her next activity was to write stories and she made up one about

a rosebud that was changed into a little girl but grew discontented and wished to change back again. Next followed the drawing of a clergyman she knew. She said he wore skirts like a woman, yet drew him in very short trousers. The next day she drew a lady in obvious trousers. Then came the information that when Sonny was five and she four, he had had a grey suit and a watch ; it would not tick, but he was proud of it. G. had a wrist-watch, and was still more proud because one could see it. She had asked if she would have a suit, too, next year, but was told she would wear her brother's outgrown clothes no more, but have a white frock with pink ribbons. This was only a partial compensation, and one day she persuaded nurse to dress them in each other's clothes, believing this would effect the desired transformation which would make her the elder.

Following up the idea of the little girl in her white frock and pink ribbons, we reached a typical princess phantasy. The princess was very beautiful, beloved of the king her father, and had many suitors, whom she turned away disdainfully. Had she ever dreamt of herself as a princess, I asked. No, but she would like to. Which one ? Victoria. What did she know about her ? She was waked up in the middle of the night and told her father was dead and she was the King, no, Queen. If she were Queen she wouldn't have a king or get married, she'd have a Parliament (wedded to her country through its representatives). If G. had been the beautiful princess in the story, she wouldn't want to share it but keep it all to herself and stay the same. As for the suitors, she would not have minded having them all, but they would not share, so she cut off their heads. An eager account followed of how she would never get married ; she would like a baby but no husband, and then, directly after these protestations came the announcement that she knew the boy she would marry if ever she did, he was her brother's friend.

A series of phantasies followed in the form of fairy-tales about princesses who had magic wishes, with which they obtained baby girls.

At the end of this hour the mother told me how much better G. was, she was beginning to ask for what she wanted and was more friendly. The attitude to brother and father was still very strained. The hand and hearing were both quite recovered. About this time, however, she grew much distressed at the length of the treatment, now rather over two months, and said it caused her to neglect her other child, and added that she had been scolding G. about it on the way up. Thereupon G. became very shy and made polite conversation for a while,

afterwards producing a phantasy about four little boys, who went to live by themselves in the clouds, instead of the palace, where the Queen was often very cross. It continued for several days, and finally the child herself saw the connection between it, the situation in her own home, her moods of absent-mindedness, to which the family referred as ' up in the clouds ' and also her retreat in the cupboard. Another interesting feature of this story was the fourth boy, who refused to share with the others, and wanted a home of his own. He flew right out of fairy-land and found two empty nests and a lonely mother-bird, who offered to adopt him and carry him up into her nest. He accepted her offer, upon the condition that she laid him an egg for his breakfast every day. Here we find a return to the eagle phantasy, and a plan by which rivals were to be avoided by early destruction, which is reminiscent of the fratricide of the eaglets themselves.

Seventy-eighth day. This was one of the most important single hours in the analysis. G. brought a book in which were a picture and story of a ' *scrawny old man and woman, who stole a bag of cowries and hid them in a tree* '. This reminded her of the rag-and-bone man : her own habit of hiding pencils belonging to other people : hiding things in her bed, especially dolls and toys of her brother's : also in the hat-and-coat-drawer : the eagle and the babies : when the sister came, she asked if she could have her, was told ' no ' and cried : the eagle carrying off the little boy for supper (the bird's eggs, reverse of this phantasy). Things belonging to the brother that she wanted, dolls. Then she looked uncomfortable and made up a story about Ganymede.

Next day we took up the thread at the same place, after a preliminary tale about a girl who played a game of seeing others without them seeing her. Then we settled down to work as follows : Follow my leader. Following in her brother's footsteps and wanting to have and do everything he had or did. His grey suit. Wouldn't let him have anything she had not. Destroying his things, so that neither should have them. Taking and hiding his things, and how she had broken a horse of his, standing and jumping upon it until she did break it. He cried and she jumped for joy. All this time G. sat and frayed out the ends of her girdle, carefully measuring to get both ends exactly the same length, and in the centre. Then she patted them and exclaimed, ' My two little tails '. She related that the previous Sunday she and her brother had gone into the country, where they had seen cows milked, and a bull. They had looked to see the difference between them ' underneath '. She had cards showing it, but somehow she had never

noticed it. That reminded her that she had said she knew no difference between Sonny and herself, but of course she did. She had seen her brother lots of times and had heard father and mother say they would have ' his tail '. She had wanted this, too. Why didn't girls ? I reminded her of what she had called her girdle and she laughed, while I went on to explain.

The next day G. spent a great deal of her time looking through a magazine to see which children were boys and which girls. She played with her girdle, folding it into a tube, calling it a *vase* or a *basin*, and putting her finger down it to see if it went right through. The following day she had managed to knock off the top of her umbrella. The first thing it made her think of was ' Daughter make water ', but did not know why. ' How was water made ? ' she asks, ' the sort you drink '. She loves squirting people with soda-water syphons. This recalled what she was talking of the previous day. She had envied the brother making fountains, but had been told she must not play with herself. Her brother would not let her touch ' his tail ' either ; perhaps he was afraid she would pull it off. Then she went on to talk of the pencil-hiding game, and the long red pencil she hoped would last for ever. She remembered seeing the ' Great Tall Tailor ' book in my room, but had only been threatened with him for thumb-sucking, never for anything else. ' Playing with oneself ' reminds one of the narcissistic division of the personality previously mentioned. Here we find evidence that the ' self ' is the genitals, as Dr. Glover also found in the case he mentioned.

Eighty-fourth day. Boys became again prominent in her stories, but in rather a negative way. She returned to the royal family of fairy-land for inspiration. Matriarchal descent and inheritance was her rule ; the boys were given distant kingdoms but the princess became Queen, she afterwards married and her husband was king. This Queen had three baby girls, and finally chose the ' littlest, because she was the nicest and prettiest ', the other sisters were very cross over it. The two youngest sisters died before their mother, however, and then the eldest, who was alive, was left in great joy because she was Queen.

One day she drew a picture with closed eyes and appeared astonished at what she saw. A box on the water. ' It might contain rubbish, matches, or a baby ', she thought. If it were a girl, she would keep it ; if a boy, he might stay there. ' Suppose Mummy had sent Sonny away in a box, I would have been glad.' Here the death-wish is clear, and as she compared the contents of the box to rubbish in the first

instance, it seems connected with the earlier wish that the dustmen had collected him.

Ninety-fourth day. A few days later she arrived saying that she now remembered what she wanted to ask. Her brother had been talking with her about babies, and asked what makes them come? Why do we have a father? I answered her questions, and it seemed as though the explanation satisfied her.

Ninety-fifth day. Next day she announced that she knew some one who was being married that day. How were people married? She would have twelve little girls as bridesmaids and twelve bridegrooms, who would live with her one month each. She would have a baby every month but send them all away for their aunt to look after, and would only see them when they were five, ten and fifteen years old. They must always remain babies and none of them be boys, or she would get rid of them within the hour.

Ninety-sixth day. The next subject to come before us was an account of Sonny's trip to Sicily with the mother. She had been so envious. She promised to bring snapshots of the trip to show me, but forgot them and told me instead about a visit to Scotland she had paid alone with her mother when she was quite tiny. Sonny had gone away with his father. 'Perhaps if we had stayed away there would have been no B.' she added wistfully.

When we had reached this point, rather more than 100 hours, I thought it possible to make the visits no longer daily, as the mother was so anxious for it. During the summer holidays the whole family went to the seaside where G. enjoyed herself as seldom before, and enthusiastically described rides on her father's back when swimming. At home her brother had put up a tent in the garden, where he camped with his boy friends, and G. played the busy housewife. B. it seemed was rather upset with the turn affairs had taken, for she missed G.'s companionship; G. now preferred to play with her contemporaries, regarding her with a big sister's easy tolerance and no jealousy. She was also on friendly terms with her mother. A few months, however, after she had left coming to me altogether, I received an angry letter from the mother to the effect that G. had returned to her old ways and this time must leave school. I rang up the headmistress to enquire particulars, and heard a strange story. G. herself had taken nothing, but was now teaching the little ones to do so, to steal fruit and then to share the spoil. She had questioned the little ones, and they had confirmed it. She had kept G. at school the previous night, fearing

what her mother might do, and was now arranging for her to go away into the country. Two days later the mother wrote to me that things were not so bad as they had feared at first in the heat of the moment. The father had questioned G. and she had cleared herself. She would like to see me to tell me all about it. I also saw G., who gave me her version, and did not seem as much worried as one would have thought; her chief consolations were that she had done nothing wrong and she was never going back to the hated school, where every one suspected her when anything was missed. She had not even wanted to take anything for ages. As a complete break and to compensate for the shock, her mother took her abroad where Sonny had been, and a new school was found for the summer term, where G. is still very happy and becoming deeply interested in school-life and its many activities.

In conclusion, I should like to add a few remarks about representative factors in this child's neurosis. 1. I must call attention to the mother's remark, 'Somehow, I have never been able to love her like the others,' the others being a boy and a girl called by a boy's name. It is an interesting fact that mothers invariably make this observation about the nervous child, explaining that they have noticed their own lack of affection from its birth, and frequently add they would have preferred a child of the other sex.

2. The mother's attitude towards her own appropriation of the pretty tea serviettes, dismissing it as 'thoughtlessness', but punishing her daughter severely for taking pins and pennies, and treating it as a joke when her son climbed over into a neighbour's garden and stole plums.

3. One sees how parental ideas influence children's phantasies. 'Father says he was once a little girl', which offered proof that they *do* grow up into fathers.

4. The mother's reiteration, 'Shall we cut it off?' or 'I'll have your tail', hints that she was still troubled with her own castration complex, and sought an outlet for the sadism connected with it in the upbringing of her children. This impulse apparently found its main outlet or gratification upon this little patient. She used to beat the child for her misdeeds and owned she lost her temper so that she did not know or remember what she said. This was the case when the child was finally expelled. She immediately believed G.'s guilt, and her violent language led the mistress to keep G. at school that night lest she did her grievous bodily harm. The mother told me she could not remember what she had said, but she thought it must have been something about killing her, because the child replied she would rather kill herself.

The expulsion aroused the mother's guilt to such an extent that she hardly dared set foot outside her home or meet any one she knew, fearing that every one must know what had occurred. Finding another school under the circumstances seemed an impossibility.

5. The child's ambition to be a kindergarten teacher showed how closely connected the idea of the baby and knowledge had become; it was as well an identification with the teacher she had met when first she went to school after the birth of the sister. She wanted to be wise and know more than others, to be able to answer their questions. Her pupils were never to exceed the age of five years, the age she was when she asked questions that were never answered, when her mother deserted her for B. and she had felt her inferiority so keenly. To possess the knowledge whence the baby had come was second in importance to possessing the baby; her desire to attain these things, *baby, knowledge, penis,* became so overwhelming that, like the little boy who wanted the wallflowers, she 'couldn't help taking' something which symbolized the coveted objects. Why so many children desire unattainable things and yet so few, comparatively, have recourse to kleptomania, is surprising, but I fancy that it is far more common, in mild forms, than one generally believes. It is supposed to be more frequent among females; but it is hard to find the actual determination; the articles are generally different when taken by boys or girls, but some objects arouse the desire of both. The placing of the guilt-emphasis is doubtless of great importance; G.'s guilt seemed centred in the death-wishes against the brother, and as a child she seemed to think she had a perfect right to take or destroy his things. Had he been entirely removed, she would have been first the only one and afterwards the elder, a situation she would have relished. She seems always to have made her favourite doll the eldest, and imagined her parents to have done the same. Why Sonny should have been the eldest, to whom so many rights and privileges belonged, seemed a problem always exercising her mind. If she turned into a boy, she would be the eldest and could *boss*. She always envied his birth-right. In phantasy she made the 'littlest' the heiress, which also has historical precedent. This desire to be the eldest is to be found particularly in second children, when girls, and I have found 'being the eldest' serving as a consolation to the penis-envy of a little girl of six with a brother of four. The question of birth-right and the strong emotion it provokes is a far-reaching subject, but one which I believe may possibly be a determining factor in the psychogenesis of kleptomania.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY MORPHIA

BY

L. LÉVY

BUDAPEST

The following short notes are not intended either as an exhaustive account of the peculiar condition which may be observed when morphia is used in cases of serious illness, or as a final, psycho-analytical explanation of the condition. It is rather a question, in the first place, of considering from a particular standpoint certain observations which have been made from time to time, and, secondly, of offering a suggestion of how the problems of clinical medicine may be attacked from the psycho-analytical point of view. I must add that, in spite of their very interesting content, it was not possible to submit these observations to a thorough psycho-analysis. A condition such as that which provided the opportunity for these observations does not admit of a relation favourable for analysis being set up between physician and patient. There is never more than a fragmentary transference, and the patient shuts himself off more and more from the outer world and answers questions either unsatisfactorily or not at all. Much must be arrived at actually by guessing and be supplemented out of previous knowledge of the patient.

Some years ago it fell to my lot to attend a colleague in advanced phthisis. In the last days of his life I tried to relieve his torturing struggle for breath by giving him repeated injections of morphia. The patient, a highly intelligent man, was quite clear about his own condition and had no illusions about his approaching death. In moments of euphoria, however, he tried to deceive his friend and physician, and to comfort me with hopeful remarks. The night before he died, it was necessary to give the injections frequently and the patient lay for the most part in a light stupor. On one occasion, as he woke up, he asked in a peculiar, brisk, objective manner: 'Well, my dear fellow, what shall we do now?' The question was asked just as if the two of us were in consultation on the case of another. This incident and the feeling I then had, but could not explain, of the patient's adopting an objective attitude towards his illness were recalled to me years later, when once again I was in professional

attendance on a fellow-physician. He was an elderly man who had had an attack of angina pectoris during his consultation hours. A temporary improvement was followed by a second attack, after which a fatal coronary thrombosis set in. The complete asystole produced an intense difficulty in breathing and morphia had to be frequently injected. While in this condition the patient asked me in an agitated manner: 'What has happened to my wife to-night? I beg of you to save her; she is so dangerously ill'. Whenever I asked him how he felt himself he assured me that he felt unusually well—would I please look after his wife? And this distress and anxiety about his wife could not be dispelled, even when she came to his bedside showing that she was not ill and spoke to him. The patient finally died, still convinced of the satisfactoriness of his own condition but tortured with anxiety about his wife's health—an anxiety in remarkable contrast to this state of euphoria.

An elderly man, an author, had long suffered from all the distressing symptoms of cardiac sclerosis. In his case morphia again proved the best narcotic and sedative. For a long time it was necessary to give hypodermic injections of 1 to 2 centigrammes two or three times daily. He had long had a hypochondriacal terror of sickness, old age and death, but this treatment calmed him and gradually a very remarkable condition manifested itself, which I can really only call a complete 'dissociation of personality'. For days he spoke of his illness and his sensations as though he had to report on the case of some poor boy. 'The poor lad could not sleep to-night, was not able to eat', and so on. At intervals he had strange sexual hallucinations, at first as if he were a spectator of what happened to the poor boy. Later, identification took place and he complained vehemently that the physicians were trying to make homosexual assaults upon him. These passive homosexual ideas were accompanied by the phantasy that his penis and his limbs were being amputated, and so on. His feminine attitude, with which I was already familiar, manifested itself in his illness quite nakedly, stripped of any sort of sublimation. It is very possible that the delusions of amputation were fostered by the œdema of the lower extremities. I am the more inclined to think this because, while treating another colleague on similar lines, on one occasion he greeted me with the remark: 'Yesterday my penis and scrotum became so swollen that this morning early I thought the penis was disappearing and a vulva coming in its place'. In this instance we have a passing, idle phantasy, which was immediately corrected in accordance with

reality. In the former patient there was a grave and persistent disturbance of consciousness of the nature of an hallucinatory psychosis.

These observations show a correlation between two series of facts : the use at intervals over a long period of time of gradually increased doses of morphia in order to quiet the patients and relieve their pain on the one hand, and the more or less extensive and lasting dissociation of their personality on the other. We have every reason to infer that this peculiar mental condition was induced by the morphia. Numerous observations which have been made on the narcotic effect of all manner of different hypnotic and sedative drugs as used in cases of chronic illness, where the illness led to anæmia or to serous infiltration of the brain, indicate similar toxic phenomena. In my experience of hypnotics and sedatives morphia remains the least toxic in its effects.

Now how are we, as physicians, to make use of this dissociation of personality which morphia induces, and how are we to explain it satisfactorily ? It seems to me that it is an important mental gain for the patient if, through it, he attains a certain objective detachment from his undoubtedly torturing state of illness. In the instances I have quoted, the one patient was enabled to endure his coronary thrombosis with the agonizing dyspnœa and the anxiety which normally accompanies angina in the condition of euphoria, thanks to the influence of morphia, right up to the last when everything came to an end. And yet it was not a true euphoria, for the projection of his grave illness on to his wife caused him a lively, indeed tormenting, anxiety on her behalf. The other patient, who in his ' normal ' intervals showed indications of a well-founded and very marked dread of illness and death, in his periods of dissociation spoke calmly and sensibly of the ' poor sick lad ' and was at such times quite accessible to encouragement from the physician, so long as the reassurances intended for himself were given in the form of a message to the other poor fellow. Without entering into a further discussion of this state I should just like to add that this sort of dissociation provides the physician with an opportunity which should be further developed for establishing a transference—an opportunity of which in such serious cases he ought to and must avail himself.

Now how are we to conceive of this condition in terms of theory ? Freud's latest study on ' Neurosis and Psychosis ' [1] gives us a method of approach. We know, from what he says there, that the mind has at its disposal a threefold apparatus : let us call the three parts briefly the *id*, the ego and the super-ego. Now, if we imagine that morphia

[1] *Collected Papers*, Vol. II.

brings about a paralysis or blocking of the ego-apparatus and that the feelings of ' pain ' which arise in the *id* and are released in the illness find the way to the ego-apparatus blocked by the morphia, while the connection between the ego and the super-ego remains undisturbed we have a possible theory to account for the dissociation of the personality. In one of the cases I have quoted we are able very clearly to note that elements of the super-ego may be discovered in the illusions and the errors as to personality which were observed. The patient, who in a condition of the utmost gravity was afraid about his wife and constantly implored me to save her, showed himself a good and tender husband. No doubt a contributing factor in this instance was the circumstance that the first attack of angina, which came upon him during his consultation-hours and heralded his fatal illness, took place *post coitum extramatrimonialem !* It would be idle to spin this theory out any further at present, but there is one thing I should like to add : Freud's scheme for dissecting the mental apparatus opens up new problems in the investigation of the topography of the brain and especially of the cortex.

At the same time it affords a splendid opportunity (as I have indicated in this paper) for penetrating somewhat further into the still very obscure and mysterious question of the production of euphoria by means of morphia.

SHORTER COMMUNICATIONS

SPEECH AND CASTRATION: TWO UNUSUAL ANALYTIC HOURS

The patient, a young man, on entering my room for his usual sitting, signalled to me that he had lost his voice. He had come to me for treatment three months before on account of attacks of complete aphonia which had followed a fugue of twenty-four hours' duration about nine months previously. These attacks were quite temporary, only lasting a few hours, except the first, which persisted for several weeks. The aphonia always disappeared quite spontaneously. It was important for him to recover his voice on the present occasion as quickly as possible, otherwise it was likely that he would be discharged from his work, which he had only recently taken up again. I therefore gave him some paper and asked him the following questions, to which he immediately wrote replies. I must add here that he had been given no interpretation of the material he had brought out during the time he had been under treatment, and, further, he knows nothing of psychoanalysis or its findings. Castration ideas had not previously appeared. I will now give the account of the analysis in the form of question and written answer.

Question. When did you lose your voice ?

Written answer. 3.45 p.m. Immediately on seeing—in the distance—the man whom I had last seen at work before setting out for A—— (the place he went to during the fugue [1]). Fortunately no one spoke to me and it was not noticed.

Ques. What was the man's name ?

Ans. X—— a bathing-machine attendant.

Ques. What had you to do with him ?

Ans. I . . . (Here he wrote his connection with X——. It is unimportant except for the fact that what he had to do with regard to X—— was the same work as that which the patient's father does.)

Ques. Describe the man.

Ans. 'Common.' Dark, tall, clean-shaven, aged about thirty.

Ques. What do you think of with regard to this man ?

Ans. Fish.

Ques. What fish ?

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[1] Remarks in brackets are mine, not the patient's.

Ans. Cray.

Ques. Whom does he remind you of?

Ans. An uncle by marriage. The man who struck a match on his son's shoe. (He had previously told me about this episode, at which he had been very indignant.)

Ques. What has X—— to do with your loss of voice?

Ans. X—— hit me. (This is not true.)

Ques. Where did he hit you?

Ans. On the head.

Ques. How did that cause you to lose your voice?

Ans. Jerks tongue.

Ques. Anything else?

Ans. It bleeds.

Ques. What does tongue make you think of?

Ans. Pyramid. Pœnus. Obelisk.

Ques. What do you mean by Pœnus?

Ans. Part of the male reproductive organs—tube through which semen is conveyed to the female. Also tube through which urine is passed.

Ques. How do you spell that organ?

After several attempts he succeeded in writing it down correctly.

Ques. Anything else about X——?

Ans. He cut off my penis.

Ques. Why?

Ans. Because I swam at his bathing-machines.

Ques. Why at his bathing-machines?

Ans. Bathing-machines here means 'establishment'.

Ques. Do you see what all this means?

Ans. Yes, penis and speech seem to mean the same thing. 'Loss of voice equals loss of penis.'

Ques. Is this clear to you?

Ans. Yes, but I am now convinced my penis has not been removed and therefore it seems my voice should come back.

Ques. We must investigate further. What about X——'s bathing-machines?

Ans. His bathing-machines are rotten ones.

Ques. What do you mean by 'rotten'?

Ans. Fetid.

Ques. What does fetid make you think of?

Ans. Smell of bathing-costume.

Ques. Whose?

Ans. Mother's.

Ques. When?

Ans. At B——. (A seaside resort.)

Ques. How old were you then?

Ans. Three.

Ques. What has this got to do with removal of your penis?

Ans. If my penis were removed my bathing-costume would become fetid.

Ques. What do you mean?

Ans. My penis = mother's vulva.

Knowing that his father wears a beard I asked him if his father had always done so.

Ans. Yes, except for three weeks when he had his beard off.

Ques. When?

Ans. Early.

Ques. How old were you then?

Ans. Three to five.

Ques. Was this at B—— (seaside resort)?

Ans. I don't remember.

Ques. Why have I asked you this? Read through your answers.

Ans. I don't know.

I then pointed out that X—— evidently stood for his father. He nodded, agreeing with this.

Ques. What do you mean by 'my penis = mother's vulva'?

Ans. My penis—hairless. Mother's vulva—hairy.

Ques. Of what are you thinking?

Ans. Lemon-groves. (His mother was a blonde.)

Ques. What do you mean?

Ans. I don't know. Very confused.

I then told him that the bathing-machine seemed to represent his mother.

Ques. What do you think?

Ans. Two answers both equally strong. 'Yes' and 'No'.

Ques. Explain.

Ans. 'Yes' because they are rotten. (His mother is dead.) 'No' because the costume is fetid.

Ques. Anything else?

Ans. She deprives me of voice.

Ques. But you said X—— deprives you of voice. Why?

Ans. Because I . . . (here he wrote the work he had to do with regard to X——) and find fault with it.

Ques. Does this make you think of anything else ?

Ans. Yes, father.

Ques. If the bathing-machine represents your mother, what does swimming at it mean ?

Ans. ' Swimming at ' my mother means ' making water against her '. Further : my father once told me that I might as well cut off my penis as ' play with it '.

Ques. Why do you want to make water against your mother ?

Ans. To prevent her swimming far.

Ques. What would happen if you made water against your mother, or used your penis towards her ?

Ans. My father would castrate me.

Immediately he had written this last sentence he said ' I can speak all right now '.

The hour was now up and he left, thanking me for helping him to recover his voice.

He came for his sitting next day but made no direct reference to the previous day's analysis. He occupied the hour in giving vent to general expressions of anger against his father.

When he arrived for his sitting the next day but one (Sunday intervened) he again signalled that he had lost his voice. I adopted the same procedure as before.

Ques. When did your voice go ?

Ans. Five minutes before getting to your rooms.

Ques. Can you account for it ?

Ans. No.

Ques. Has anything happened during the week-end ?

Ans. I went to the Marine and Small Crafts Exhibition.

Ques. Has that anything to do with your loss of voice ?

Ans. Yes, because I steered away from it to avoid the crowds.

Ques. Why ?

Ans. They would frighten me.

Ques. How ?

Ans. Cut off my penis.

Ques. Why ?

Ans. To prevent me rendering them speechless.

Ques. How would you render them speechless ?

Ans. By turning the crank-handle.

I must explain here that he had had an infantile phantasy that witches would come to him when he was in bed and insert a spindle or crank-handle into his chest, and by turning it they would cause him to lose either his voice, hearing or eyesight. Although this phantasy had been mentioned several times previously we had not arrived at its meaning.

Ques. What is the crank-handle ?

Ans. A weapon for cutting off the penis.

Ques. Where is the crank-handle ?

Ans. The navel.

Ques. What is the navel ?

Ans. A hole.

Ques. How does the navel cut off the penis ?

Ans. With dental silk.

Ques. What is dental silk ?

Ans. A fine thread for cleaning teeth.

Ques. How is the penis cut off by the navel or hole ?

Ans. By surrounding the penis with fire.

Ques. What does the navel or hole make you think of ?

Ans. Crater of volcano.

I pointed out that he had previously said that the witch or mother turned the crank-handle (I am referring to previous talks about the witches), therefore the navel or hole belonged to his mother.

Ans. My mother has cut off my penis—first thought. Logically, my mother is the weapon with which it has been cut off.

Ques. What do you mean ?

Ans. My father has cut it off with my mother, i.e. as a weapon.

Ques. How ?

Ans. With dental silk.

Ques. I don't understand.

Ans. Umbilical cord severed with dental silk. (Here castration is definitely associated with the separation of the child from the mother.)

Ques. Why was your penis cut off ?

Ans. For ' cheeking ' her.

Ques. When ?

Ans. At P—— (another seaside resort), 1913.

Ques. What did you do there ?

Ans. I don't remember.

Ques. What is the first ' cheeky ' thing you think of that she would do it for ?

Ans. Pinching her bottom.

Ques. Have you done this ?

Ans. I have to the aunt who taught me lessons.

Ques. What did she do ?

Ans. She screamed.

Ques. Why did you want to pinch your mother's bottom ?

Ans. To get my own back over the rooks' nests.

Ques. What do you mean ?

Ans. The rooks were witches—my father liked them and wanted me to. I was damned if I would.

Ques. Any other reason for your penis being cut off ?

Ans. Because I had told a lie, and said I had not hurt my mother—to tell a lie was the worst offence I could commit.

Ques. What is the worst offence ?

Ans. The two worst things that could happen to me were : (1) To ' play with ' my penis ; (2) to cut off my own penis. These, because of my father's words which I wrote last time I lost my voice, were equivalent.

Ques. Why should he choose to cut off your penis instead of any other punishment ?

Ans. My father chose the severest possible punishment.

Ques. What was this punishment for ?

Ans. For hurting my mother.

Ques. How ?

Ans. For using my penis against her.

Ques. How ?

Ans. For raping her or knocking her over with my penis.

Ques. How would you rape her ?

Ans. Put it in her navel—first thought—vulva.

I now told him to read through all he had written and write briefly what it meant.

Ans. My father has cut off my penis with my mother's vulva for usurping his privilege of entering it, and has thereby deprived me of my voice—which is absurd, therefore my voice should return, and does.

At this moment he speaks. The sitting now terminated.

During the analysis next day the patient suddenly remarked, ' I am not really speaking with my voice, but with my mind only '. Here was an obvious self-castration, which he quickly recognized.

These analyses, apart from the material produced, are interesting

because the motive for the aphonic attacks was undoubtedly homosexual transference to me. This was borne out most convincingly a few weeks later.

Douglas Bryan, London.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPLANATION OF THE *ARC DE CERCLE*

I have at present a female patient whom I am treating for agoraphobia. I must say at the outset that she has as yet never had an attack accompanied by the phenomenon of *arc de cercle*, that she has clear symptoms of anxiety-attacks with phobia but without disturbances of consciousness, and that she has almost entirely repressed the physical side of her love-life. I have never had any occasion to speak to her about the *arc de cercle*.

Very often she tells me of dreams in which the psycho-analytical treatment takes place in the W.C. In one dream she was sitting on the seat and, whilst in the act of expelling fæces, she admired the beautiful sunset through the open door of the closet. (She has artistic talent.) Her dreams very often contain symbols of birth, a child and the male genitals.

In her agoraphobia she feels that she lacks something. Hitherto she has only recognized in this lack the desire for maternal protection and care, and her defensive measures correspond to this idea.

One night she dreamt that she was twisting herself backwards, with the feeling that this would enable her to squeeze something out in the region of the clitoris. She actually had the feeling in the dream that the clitoris had already grown into a protruding excrescence. According to her description of it, the position which she assumed in the dream was that of the *arc de cercle*. Her association to this position was the expelling of fæces, and with the excrescence she associated a penis. In the dream, by means of the *arc de cercle*, she changed the concave (feminine) into the convex (forward-thrusting, masculine) posture. She was pressing out the penis, and in this her whole body was assisting her.

Undoubtedly this dream throws light on the meaning of the hysterical *arc de cercle*. How often does the hysterical attack imitate birth or the acts which in the unconscious are equated with birth !

Eduardo Weiss, Trieste.

THE CASTRATION COMPLEX IN THE NURSERY

Just before Christmas a patient under analysis for a psychical impotence and a feeling of being continually slighted by his equals asked my opinion as to the proper course to be pursued in connection with a little episode in the life of his four-year-old daughter. The child had for some time been the constant companion of a five-year-old boy living in the same house, and had been detected a few months previously in exhibitionism with him, for which she had been reproved by her mother. The child protested that she had been playing a game, ' playing wee-wee '.

No further notice was taken of the tendency until early in December, when the little girl had told her mother in a half-abashed, half-defiant manner that she had had ' lots of fun ' with the boy companion (Arthur) ' playing wee-wee '. The mother sharply reprimanded her, asking reproachfully why she could not play other games with Arthur, such as blocks, train or tag, whereupon the little girl protested that ' wee-wee ' was more fun, and upon being asked the reason for the predilection, gleefully cried out, ' Because we've got it on us, we've got it on us '.

The mother told her that it were better that she played other games. The father wished to know whether in my opinion the mother had been sufficiently firm with the child.

A few days later the little girl came home from kindergarten crying inconsolably. A Christmas festival had been planned at the kindergarten in which half the children were to represent reindeer and the other half fairies. She had been selected for the latter, whereas she wanted to be a reindeer. (I don't want to be a fairy.) The child's sobbing and gloom over the occurrence were so intense and persistent that the mother had asked the father if he did not think it advisable that she should go to the school to have the child's rôle changed. He wished my comment as to the pedagogical advisability of interceding for the child with the teacher. When I asked him why the child desired so much to be a reindeer, he said that he had been unable to ascertain. Recalling the reply of the child in connection with the ' wee-wee ' game a few weeks ago, I suggested to the father that she probably wished to be a reindeer because of the horns and that he should question her again when she was calm. He reported the following day that she immediately replied ' because the reindeer has a horn '. A change in plans by the teacher regarding the subject of the festival made further action by the mother unnecessary.

The following week an unusually violent snowstorm impelled the patient to retrieve a heavy old ulster from the clothes-closet. In buttoning it he detached a button, which he asked his wife, who was sitting in the room, to sew on for him. The little girl, and her brother, who is eight and who the father suspects has also exposed himself to her, were playing on the floor. The patient held his thumb on the outside of the coat to indicate the point where he wished his wife to attach the button. She had considerable difficulty in forcing the needle through the thick cloth from the other side, with the husband becoming impatient and irritable the while. Finally, with a vicious lunge of the needle, she forced it through the cloth into the thumb of the husband, where it broke off. He raged, howled with pain and swore wrathfully at his wife. (The thought arises as to the extent to which the ' accident ' was influenced by the wife's unconscious desire to avenge herself on the penis-symbol for the impotency of the husband, and how much the patient's excessive reaction to the injury was due to a corresponding resentment at the threat.) The wife sank into an arm-chair, where she began to weep. The children, awed, became silent on the floor. The father continued to storm for a while and a lull ensued. Then the children diffidently arose from the floor. The boy went to console the mother but the little girl ran to kiss her father's thumb.

C. P. Oberndorf, New York.

A NOTE ON ' SHINGLING '

A young lady suffering from anxiety-hysteria had made many appointments with her hairdresser to have her hair shingled. On each occasion she found some excuse for putting off the operation, even when she had already entered the hairdresser's shop ; she would be late home or the weather was bad and she would catch cold. She decided that the real reason was an uncertainty about the effect upon her appearance. After many postponements she at last kept her appointment ; she felt very uneasy, with a sinking sensation at the pit of the stomach, when the hairdresser took his scissors and held up a coil of hair ; and when this coil was cut off she jumped up and declared she felt too ill to go on that day—she was dizzy and about to faint. Sal volatile, eau de cologne, etc., being produced, she was finally persuaded to let the hair-cutting be completed, agreeing that she would look a fright with her

hair left half done ; but she felt very ill all that evening, faint and dizzy. Two other young women may be mentioned who had their hair shingled with like unpleasant accompaniments ; neither was suffering from any psychoneurosis and may be regarded as typically robust girls without a trace of ' nerves ' about them. One said she never felt so ill in her life ; she went ' deathly pale ' and nearly collapsed. The other was so ill afterwards that she retired to bed for thirty-six hours.

A ladies' hairdresser states that he is quite used to his clients failing to keep numerous appointments ; also that he finds it advantageous to have scissors and other implements all ready, to waste no time, but to begin operating as soon as the lady is seated.

The patient with anxiety-hysteria suffered from pronounced castration fear. I have no knowledge of the unconscious life of the two other women, but the following dream of a perfectly normal woman, rather exceptionally well adapted to life, displays the unconscious motivation plainly enough. The dream occurred the night preceding her shingling appointment, after a week of painful indecision, which she too attributed to a fear lest her beauty should be diminished. In her dream she found herself in a bathing-pool or swimming-bath alone with her little son. Suddenly she saw to her horror that the child had slipped under the water. She made every effort to get hold of him but could not ; she screamed again and again for help but no one came, and she woke in agonized terror, bathed in sweat, sure that the child was drowned. It was, she said, the worst nightmare she had ever had.

M. D. Eder, London.

ABSTRACTS

General

J. M. Rombouts. Über Askese und Macht. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1924, Vol. X, p. 267.

Shows with the help of a new example and of various references to cases already published how asceticism, in addition to being a punishment for repressed tendencies, may afford positive gratification of the desire for power—power exercised in this case in the shape of a tyranny of the Super-Ego over the libidinal desires.

J. C. F.

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Cavendish Moxon. Zum Thema 'Regressionszug'. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1924, Vol. X, p. 436.

In connection with Ferenczi's view (expressed in his *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*) that the intrauterine life represents in some sense a recapitulation of a previous water-existence led by the ancestors of certain present land animals, attention is drawn to some experiments with salamanders showing that deprivation of water tends to bring about a longer period of intrauterine life. As a result of this prolongation of the first stage of life the larvæ become provided with lungs ready for a land existence from birth onwards, whereas under normal conditions a considerable time is spent in the water before the development of lungs enables the young animals to take to the land.

J. C. F.

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Tom A. Williams. Prevalent Misunderstandings concerning the Unconscious Mind. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, p. 77.

The writer denies the utility of all the various terms proposed for aspects of unconscious mentality and regards the conception itself as unnecessary.

He develops instead an intellectualistic hypothesis of forgetting and subsequent motivation according to which facts long forgotten and ceasing to act in themselves have led to a generalization which becomes a motivating force in our thinking, feeling, and doing.

Several generalizations of this kind may be utilized for a further conclusion and therefore pass into abeyance and be forgotten. He denies any important rôle to repression in forgetting and claims that under favourable conditions for concentration much more can be remembered than is generally supposed.

Where persons are unaware of their real motives this does not justify in his view the assumption of an unconscious. It is a mental laziness com-

parable to reluctance to solve a mathematical problem, and could be overcome by more honest introspection.

Our motives are not ' maintained in the unconscious, they are dependent on experience and memory . . . ways of reacting to circumstances habitual to each, but in order that this use of the word "memory" may not reopen the question of unconscious mentation.' Thus summarily settled, he tells us exactly what a memory process is. It is ' a sequence of stimuli each provoked by another and eventuating in an end which is a movement even when that movement is confined within oneself to modifications of blood vessels, viscera, and muscle tension '.

Thus what begins by being a highly intellectualistic account of mental functioning comes to an obscure and bathetic end in visceral phenomena about which no competent physiologist would have the hardihood to express any opinion whatsoever. This seems to be the inevitable fate of those who reject the use of psychological concepts to describe processes not accompanied by consciousness. The facts of personality requiring some sort of structural and dynamic background, as soon as they come to the limits of introspection and conscious memory recall, they hastily abandon the sinking ship of their own inadequate psychologizing and reappear on a raft constructed of bewildering physiological assumptions which most physiologists would regard as in the highest degree unseaworthy.

In this writer's opinion, unrecognized motives can be readily ascertained when the patient is compelled to introspect. ' His unwillingness to face should not therefore be translated into incapacity to know.' Quite apart from the astounding lack of clinical insight revealed by such a statement, one cannot help commiserating with patients whose apparently irrational sufferings encounter the application of this cruel dogma.

James Glover.

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G. W. Allport. Eidetic Imagery. *British Journal of Psychology (General Section)*, 1924, Vol. XV, p. 99.

A very clear and useful critical summary, supplemented by some original observations, of the recent work of Jaensch and his collaborators of the Marburg school on what is claimed to be a hitherto unrecognized visual phenomenon possessing characteristics which seem to be midway between those of image and sensation.

The discovery of the Marburg investigators would seem to have some importance for psycho-analytical theory for reasons that have been pointed out in the abstract of another recent paper dealing with imagery (this JOURNAL, Vol. IV, pp. 176–177). It was there shown that there appeared to be a contradiction between, on the one hand, the rôle of image and hallucination in relation to the Pleasure Principle as generally conceived in psycho-analysis and, on the other hand, the chronological and developmental relations of sensation and image as represented in general psycholo-

gical and biological theory. According to the former view hallucinations or images are conceived as in certain respects developmentally prior to sensation, whereas according to the later view sensation must be prior. The work of Jaensch and his followers helps to resolve this conflict by showing that in early stages of development (the eidetic image is, with certain notable exceptions, found only in children) the distinction between sensation and image has not yet been formed, but that the visual experiences are of a relatively undifferentiated type partaking to some extent of the nature of both sensation and image.

The work is therefore of great interest to those who are concerned with the relations of psycho-analytical theory to the general body of psychological doctrine.

J. C. F.

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David Slight. Hypnagogic Phenomena. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, p. 274.

The writer finds in his study of hypnagogic phenomena grounds for attaching high importance to the functional symbolism of Silberer and therefore, as might be guessed, for belittling the importance of symbols in the psycho-analytical sense and of any censoring activity in the dream. The writer, who quotes his own experiences, seems to belong to that somewhat limited class of subjects in whom Silberer's phenomena are prominent.

In emphasizing the authenticity of his functional interpretations and in casting doubt on the deeper interpretations of the psycho-analytic method, he employs arguments which reveal a striking ignorance of that method. Thus he complains that Freudians are content with the arbitrary interpretation of isolated symbols out of relation to the context of the dream, in ignorance of the facts that the sole use of symbol interpretation in dream analysis is to throw light not only on the context of the dream but on that of the patient's unconscious life, and that the sole occasion on which arbitrary interpretation of a symbol is made is when such a procedure obviously illuminates a context meaningless without it.

James Glover.

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William Brown. Religion and Psychology. *Psyche*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 335.

Dr. William Brown understands religion to be a mental attitude towards the universe and the totality of existence. This attitude is cognitive, æsthetic and ethical. He also recognizes an attitude of complete dependence upon the universe which comes into play after these three attitudes have found expression. The historical approach which is concerned with the evolution of religion from magic to polytheism and monotheism is considered to lend itself to arguing in a circle. The writer believes that after

the profane sciences have been examined the distinctively religious experience stands out as an entity. This definite experience requires analysis in order to connect it with experiences not generally recognized as religious, and it is the task of psychology to do this. It is considered that the psychological attitude inhibits the comprehensive stability of the religious attitude. Because psychology as such cannot do justice to the validity of knowledge, the same will apply to its application to religion. The author therefore finds it necessary to supplement his psychology with philosophy. Certain psycho-analysts are criticized on the plea that they explain away the main facts of the Christian religion in terms of psycho-pathology. These arguments are criticized along theoretical and practical lines. These psycho-analysts explain the normal mind in terms of the abnormal without distinguishing the normal from the abnormal. Physiological change cannot be explained in terms of pathology. The author argues that because the pathological processes of projection and regression and the effects of the Œdipus complex are diminished or eliminated by psycho-analysis, therefore religious consciousness should also be eliminated. He found that the effect of his personal analysis was the exact opposite. He is more convinced than ever that religion is the most important thing in life, and that it is essential to mental health. He has, moreover, obtained similar results in his own patients.

Robert M. Riggall.

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J. H. van der Hoop. Über die Projektion und ihre Inhalte. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1924, Vol. X, p. 276.

Projection is to some extent a normal process, inasmuch as it is connected with the imperfect differentiation of Self and Outer World—a differentiation that only takes place gradually during individual development and racial evolution, and that is not complete even in the civilized adult. Pathological projection may be distinguished by its abnormal degree or unusual content. Abnormal degree of projection may be due to a general tendency to introversion, as the result of which inner experience unduly influences outer perceptions. A detailed consideration of some of the relations between introversion and repression seems to show that the introverted condition rather than the occurrence of repression is the chief determining factor in projection. As regards unusual content of projection the author makes use of Jung's concept of the Collective Unconscious, which, he suggests, explains the archaic elements or projection encountered in Schizophrenia—elements that are an inheritance from a remote stage of racial development in which there was only an imperfect distinction between the personality and the outside world.

J. C. F.

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T. H. Pear. Imagery and Mentality. *British Journal of Psychology (General Section)*, 1924, Vol. XIV, p. 291.

An eloquent plea for the further study of individual differences as regards imagery, with particular reference to the possible further effect of these differences as regards thought and conduct. These differences, it is suggested, may be important not only as subject-matter for differential psychology, but may very seriously affect the expositions (and hence also the controversies) of psychologists themselves.

J. C. F.

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CLINICAL

A. J. Westerman Holstijn. Retentio Urinæ. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1924, Bd. X, S. 295.

This is an account of some dreams from the analysis of a female patient aged forty-seven suffering from retentio urinæ, ischuria-paradoxa and constipation of eight years' standing. It transpired from association to dreams that she could endure coitus only during pregnancy. There was a strong libidinal fixation to her father which had evidently been followed by a homosexual fixation to her mother.

She had had enuresis as a child and a bladder inflammation had been cured by her mother rubbing her with oil.

There was a history of later wetting necessitating the wearing of napkins. Her condition was made worse by catheterization and lavage and she had several attacks. Her constipation was connected with unconscious phantasies of *coitus a-tergo* and coprophilic tendencies. Psychoanalysis caused circum-anal and anal anæsthesia to disappear. Retention of urine was equated with pregnancy.

Her menses, which had not appeared for eight years, reappeared after psycho-analysis for a short time before the climacteric. She could not transfer libido to her husband, and unconsciously wished to be made pregnant by her father and to have her daughter back in her abdomen, these situations being symbolized in her symptoms.

James Glover.

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John B. Morgan. Hypnosis will direct Psycho-Analytic Statement and Suggestion in the Treatment of a Psycho-Neurotic of Low Intelligence. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, p. 160.

A case diagnosed as a conversion hysteria with low intelligence is presented as having been cured by the use of hypnosis in bringing about the acceptance of psycho-analytical statements.

The patient proved resistant to hypnotic influence but was finally hypnotised and in this state expressed her resistance to sexual situations. The method employed to deal with these resistances was not explanatory but ' dogmatic '. The authority of the hypnotist was used to contradict

the authority of those who had given her the false ideals which had caused her undoing. She was told that she was wrong in her ideas of sex. She was told that she was a woman, and as a woman had the feelings and desires of a woman, etc., etc. It was made plain to her that she had been a coward, etc., etc. ' This was repeated over and over until its weight overbalanced the idea of sex impurity. She was then told her love must progress from love of self to the love of another, finally finding outlet in the love of a husband. This was also repeated and she was made to say it until it became part of her. The whole thing was summed up in two sentences which she was made to repeat over and over : " I will look forward and not backward " ; " I will love others more than myself ". The first was to counteract the tendency to regression and the latter the tendency towards narcissism.'

These excerpts are quoted to illustrate the extraordinary *naiveté* with which some psychotherapists approach their clinical problems. No one could possibly quarrel with the employment of any technique whatsoever which brought about the amelioration claimed in this case, but it is difficult to conceive that any one with any insight into the dynamics of a narcissistic regression could believe in its rectification by means of a verbal formula and at the same time ignore the dynamics of the ' dogmatic method ' employed ; i.e. of the transference. Finally the psycho-analytical statements alleged to have been made to the patient turn out to be the most banal injunctions to a more reasonable attitude towards adult sexual impulses.

James Glover.

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Von Hattingberg. Zur Analyse der analytischen Situation. *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1924, Bd. X, S. 34.

From the point of view of cathexis, v. Hattingberg regards transference as the investment of objects occupying a certain ' position ' : feeling, thinking and behaving in regard to these positions (niches) are independent of consciousness. The analytic ' position ' influences thinking, etc., in a definite way independent of consciousness and often opposed to it. For example, the recumbent position in analysis represents the necessity for help and is suggestive of the old authority of pre-analytic days. Lying down in the rôle of patient suggests complete self-abandonment during an active operation. It is entirely passive and often conduces to sleep. On the question of analytical ' distance ' the author points out that the patient must learn objectivity gradually and that there is a tendency to unreality and impersonality in the recumbent position. In the sitting posture, however, the impression must be avoided that the treatment is conversational : on the other hand the situation of fight is emphasized. A decision on the proper course must be arrived at along the lines of keeping the right distance.

Turning to the analyst's position, he suggests that just as the neurosis

is a sanctuary for the patient, so the analytic situation is a sanctuary for the analyst, evolved in self-protection and within which repressed instincts can be gratified. The analyst's relation to the patient is a real, actual relation which stirs up the former both consciously and unconsciously : it is a silent combat between personalities during which the analyst has the advantage of safety and position. Whether we like it or not we must play the part of educators, and although this does not imply an attitude of preaching we cannot expect to be able to orientate the patient if we have not ourselves said Yes to Life. The usual methodic restriction of the guiding rôle may lead to passing over difficulties owing to the analyst's unconscious desire not to see. The analyst's theory corresponds to the patient's symptoms : it is the expression of the analyst's resistances, of the distance he keeps between the patient and himself. In unsuccessful cases the analyst retires into theory, ignoring the fact either that the requisite energy is not present or that he has not sufficient interest in the patient's sufferings. The analyst's opinions representing his ego, it follows that chiefly ego-instincts are satisfied by theory, patients often reacting either by constant contradiction or by covering evasion by amenability. The sexual component is ultimately sadism represented in reaction by the desire to help suffering. The patient is cruelly exposed or in the case of gradual development of a first true love-feeling is exposed to bitter rejection. Again the play of thought with theoretical ideas helps to compensate for prolonged daily interest in others. Actually only the most direct expression of immediate relationships should be given, not complicated theoretical explanations. The obvious should always be emphasized. Von Hattingberg has found that fractional analysis is often advisable, i.e. suspending the process during stale intervals.

Defining suggestion in general as direct affective stimulation of the individual which activates instinctual mechanisms and in the narrower sense as a state of *rapport* in which a quite definite instinctual attitude is produced, the author gives his view that suggestibility is a special instinct and that it depends on mental dissociation. He points out, however, that in the overvaluation stage of transference, the patient lies under a suggestion, viz. ' If you come here, you'll get better ', and comments on the fact that different schools of analysis bring about cures. Theory and interpretation provide the patient with material on which to gratify his need for conviction and belief, for he must be brought to believe once more in himself and in humanity. Belief must come about through actual experience.

Regarding the specific characteristics of analysis the author describes two stages : (1) free association, a sort of discharge technique during which the patient develops freedom, and (2) interpretation, when the material, produced as it were by a third party, is investigated by patient and analyst together, and from being an unassorted heap is reduced to order. It must

not, however, be kept too much at a distance, indeed objectivity is the most essential and individual part of the analytic situation. Some objectivate without overcoming resistances, in which case objectivation plays the part of a symptom. In general, however, resistance opposes objectivity, as when the transference situation is converted into a sexual situation. The patient must not let this disturb the relationship of respect to the analyst: he must learn that the sex-relationship in a narrow corporeal sense is not an essential expression of love. The paper concludes with a discussion of the thesis that psycho-analytical theory regards libido as the driving force of mental life. Freud's ego and sexual instincts are correlated to power and love, activity and passivity, I and We, etc. The analyst stands in the Œdipus situation to the analysand, the position being that of disturbing the father from within the mother. The father in the patient is overcome.

Edward Glover.

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W. P. Farrow, M.A., D.Sc. Experiences with Two Psycho-Analysts. *Psyche*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 234.

This paper is a critical examination of the technique of two (Freudian) psycho-analysts from the patient's standpoint. The writer (who was the patient) considers that the first analyst, whom he attended for three months, made a serious mistake by refusing to allow him to develop his own thoughts. The second analyst saw him for two hours daily for three and a quarter months, and according to the patient created certain forms of hostility by hastiness and loss of temper which destroyed the possibility of positive transference. The author states that he has no quarrel with the true Freudian technique but only with his two analysts, whom he thinks departed from this technique. In both cases he takes exception to certain prohibitions which were imposed regarding note-taking and dream analysis; he also resented the analyst's wish to direct his associations along certain channels. In spite of these criticisms the patient admits that the effect of the analyses was to make him much more contented and happy. He thinks that the analytical time was very well spent and that psycho-analysis is a very sound and beneficial process. He considers that his two hours daily for five days a week spent with the second analyst was of more value to him than the one hour daily with the first because it was more difficult to dodge unpleasant material in the longer time.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Smith Ely Jelliffe. The Old Age Factor in Psycho-Analytical Therapy. *Medical Journal and Record*, January 7, 1925, pp. 7–12.

A paper read before the New York Neurological Society to show that the old age factor need not necessarily rule out psycho-analytic treatment in otherwise appropriate cases.

It is pointed out that chronological, physiological and psychological old

age do not necessarily synchronize. At one time the writer used to believe that some acquaintance with his unconscious would be of benefit to the patient in the treatment of his symptoms. But now he is more inclined to tell his older patients that disease symptoms are intuitively formed compensations for inner character defects, and that their fundamental beliefs will be profoundly stirred by psycho-analytic treatment; that they won't like it, but that much may be done provided they have the courage to look into themselves.

He could quote from his practice numbers of cases in which he had used psycho-analysis in those over fifty years of age without any result whatever, but still his faith in the efficacy of the principles are not shaken. In all such cases he was able to convince himself that there were clear indications why any real revelation on the part of the patient would not be conceived of by him as being advantageous. In other words, his neurosis or psychosis was a better solution of his life difficulties than anything he could offer by treatment. How far psycho-analysis can be applied in those who have passed through youth fairly successfully and in mature years have begun to regress to phantasy formation one never can tell.

Several cases are quoted from his practice in which psycho-analytic treatment was employed with success. In some of the cases quoted, however, the pure psycho-analytic technique does not seem to have been employed.

Warburton Brown.

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F. G. Crookshank. The Psychological Interest in General Medical Practice. *Psyche*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 296.

The main object of this paper appears to be a laudable desire to sweep away the cobwebs still present in the minds of the majority of medical men. The teaching of clinical psychology in our medical schools is neglected because mediæval metaphysics is still firmly embedded in Victorian science. Modern psychotherapy will not become generally accepted until the belief is dispelled that a disease must be seen on a plate after death. Attention is particularly drawn to those cases in which the psychical and physical disorders appear to be evenly balanced. Having very superficially discussed the teaching of Freud, Jung and Adler, the author shows a distinct leaning to the views of the last-named, having stated that each physician tends to develop his technique in terms of his own life-history. He objects to the Freudian technique in the cases mentioned because of its tedious nature and the difficulties of dealing with transference and resistance. He thinks that in employing Adler's method the relation of the physical symptoms to a psychical state can be confidently pointed out at once and transference can be avoided. Adler's method means less insistence on the sexual factor, and this means freedom from embarrassment for both patient and physician.

Robert M. Riggall.

APPLICATIONS.

Ernest Jones. Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1924, Vol. LIV, p. 47.

A paper read before the Royal Anthropological Institute on an occasion which, as the author justly remarks, was not without some historical interest, being the first time that the doctrines of psycho-analysis were propounded to an anthropological audience.

The paper was worthy of the event, for it presents, within the compass of a few pages, a masterly presentation of some of the chief points of contact between the two disciplines. Attention is drawn in the first place to the very remarkable similarity between the facts brought to light by the two very different methods, a similarity ' often so striking and unexpected as positively to call out for explanation ' ; a comparison being made in this connection between the ' omnipotence of thought ' and the ' Œdipus complex ' on the one side, with the facts of animism and incest prohibition upon the other. With regard to the distinction between the mentality of primitive man, of the child and of the civilized adult, it is held that the differences depend primarily on the relative predominance of two modes of thinking. These two modes of thinking differ profoundly, but both are present in some degree in all three types of mind. The author then considers certain ways in which the views of psycho-analysts and anthropologists seem to have converged. Both, for instance, tend to interpret their data in terms of purely human and ego-centric motives, in distinction to some of the more philosophic or cosmological interpretations in vogue among certain of the earlier schools of anthropology. Another matter with regard to which the convergence is very striking is that of symbolism, and in this connection extensive parallels are quoted between psycho-analytical results and the independent conclusions of such workers as Elliott-Smith and Perry. It is shown how psycho-analysis can corroborate, amplify and deepen the ' self-preservation ' theory held by writers of this school ; particular consideration being given to womb symbols, and their meaning, the unconscious identification of coitus and birth (return to the mother), and to the process of warding off death and prolonging youth. The paper will repay careful reading on the part of all who are interested in the fields concerned.

J. C. F.

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Bronislaw Malinowski, M.A., D.Sc. Complex and Myth in Mother-right. *Psyche*, 1925, Vol. V, p. 194.

This is the concluding instalment of Dr. Malinowski's criticism of Freud's use of the ' Œdipus complex ' in relation to savage societies. Instead of the repressed desire ' to kill the father in order to marry the mother ', the wish in the matrilineal complex of Melanesia is ' to marry the sister and to kill the maternal uncle '. Malinowski proceeds to show that this

matrilineal complex can also be traced in the myth, legend and folk-lore of the Trobriand archipelago. In discussing disease and perversion the author was unable to find any traces of neurosis in these islanders. In the neighbouring Amphlett Islands, inhabited by people similar in race, custom and language, but differing in social organization and possessing a code of strict sexual morality, he found a community of neurotics. The Trobrianders, on the other hand, show a minimum of perversions. This of course is in accordance with Freud's correlation of sexual perversions with repression. Homosexuality only occurred in the Trobriands under the influence of the white man's morality, as occurs in a mission station.

In their dreams and day-dreams these natives differ from other savages. They dream little and show small interest in these dreams. It is suggested that this may be due to lack of repression and to their extraordinary licence in sexual matters. In questioning the natives on the subject of erotic dreams it was found that the only affective response was produced in association with dreams of the sister. Although brother-sister incest is most reprehensible, a breach of clan exogamy is considered smart and desirable owing to piquant difficulties in carrying it out. Stereotyped modes of abuse include three incestuous expressions directed against the mother, sister and wife, the worst insult being the saying : ' Cohabit with thy wife.' Reference to lawful sexuality in coarse language mortally offends the sensitive Trobriander. This discloses the fact that one of the main forms of abuse lies in the relation between the reality and plausibility of a desire and its conventional repression. The word ' my sister ' is used in magic and signifies incompatibility and mutual repulsion. Myths concerning the origin of man possess matrilineal characteristics. Man originates from a hole in the earth, and the first ancestral group always consists of a woman never accompanied by a husband but sometimes by her brother or the totemic animal. These myths reveal the spontaneous procreative powers of the ancestral mother; the father is non-existent in the mythological world. In his study of these and other myths referring to cultural achievements due to heroic deeds, Malinowski does not quarrel with psychoanalytical explanations but claims to have corrected the sociology of these interpretations. Having referred to the intimate connection between magic and myth, instances are given in actuality as well as in myth in which the situation forms a matrilineal complex conflicting with the conventional tribal law. Myths of incest between brother and sister frequently occur among matrilineal peoples, while hatred and rivalry between brothers or between nephew and maternal uncle is found in the world's folk-lore. From this it will be seen that Malinowski's extremely interesting and painstaking researches possess a much wider application than at first appears.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Gustav Hans Graber (Bern). Über Regression und Dreizahl. *Imago*, 1923, Bd. IX, S. 475.

The author has elaborated to some extent Freud's study of ' A neurosis of demoniacal possession ' (*Imago*, Bd. IX ; Collected Papers, Vol. IV), with a view to illustrating a special aspect of regression. He sees in some of the visions reported in this paper a tendency to regress to a primary narcissistic, alibidinal state of pre-natal existence and considers whether this is characteristic of regression, whether it originates from death-instincts, and whether these dominate the progressive trends. He enquires also if the condition may not be regarded as a rejection of post-natal libidinal existence, and finally whether this alibidinal state can really be attained.

He points out that the subject of Freud's study regarded all libidinal gratifications as ' temptations ' and that these were of threefold nature, representing in principle, fixation on the self, fixation on the mother (woman) and fixation on the father. In the first set the painter is tempted with money (regression to the oral phase), in the second with fine ladies (mother), and in the third with offers of kingship (father). Then follow the hermit visions representing the intrauterine state (number six, food from angels, etc.). Graber points out that in the temptations of Jesus Christ as recorded by Matthew a somewhat similar sequence occurs : (1) by food ; (2) flying (sexual pleasure) ; (3) on a high mountain (compare the painter's throne scene). Christ was like the painter deserted and fed by angels, but he preserved his identification with God. Further illustration is given from one of Graber's own tales and from the story of Tailor Hans by Bechstein and of The Three Wishes. Reference is made to ' Der Spielhof ' by Franz Werfel, in which the threefold sequence is more closely followed.

Edward Glover.

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A. M. Bodkin. The Relevance of Psycho-Analysis to Art Criticism. *British Journal of Psychology*, 1924, Vol. XV, p. 174.

In this paper (which is for the most part confined to a consideration of pictorial art and in which the term psycho-analysis is used in a very wide sense) the author expresses a regret that psycho-analytic interpretations should have been for the most part concerned with the content or meaning rather than with the sensuous form of the work of art, though it is suggested that the work of such writers as Jane Harrison and F. M. Cornford have begun to show the way to an analytic interpretation of the ' set traditional form ' or ' ritual mode ' used in Greek drama.

The writer herself, we are told, approached the study of Æsthetics through the problem of empathy and is inclined to believe with Vernon Lee that visible forms largely owe their æsthetic significance to our ' attribution (to them) of the modes of our dynamic experience ', especially experience of movement. She suggests that the study of dreams (particularly flying dreams) would probably afford some useful material for the

closer study of this process. There follows a short but interesting discussion of the relation of the artist's deep-rooted emotional impulses to his consciously acquired technical powers as determined by his experiences, his training and the artistic conventions of his time. Great art requires that the emotional impulses shall flow freely along the channels that the technical capacities provide, and it is one of the important tasks of art education to see that the impulses shall find expression through the technique, and not (as may easily happen, even in the case of otherwise good teaching) be baffled or inhibited in the process of acquiring the technique. ' The question of the liberation of the individual's distinctive gift should be the central one for the teacher of art, as it is central for the art critic who traces the evolution of the artist's power.'

It is unfortunate that there is no consideration or even mention of certain of the psycho-analytic contributions which would seem amongst those most germane to the subject discussed in this paper, e.g. Sachs' ' Über Naturgefühl ' (*Imago*, Vol. I), Roheim's ' Primitive Man and his Environment ' (this JOURNAL, Vol. II), and the studies in pictorial art contained in Ernest Jones' ' Essays in applied Psycho-Analysis '. Owing to these omissions, interesting and suggestive as the paper is in many ways, it fails to make full use of such relevant psycho-analytical material as already exists.

J. C. F.

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S. Spielrein. Die drei Fragen. *Imago*, 1923, Bd. IX, S. 260.

An interesting experiment verifying the truths of psycho-analysis. The author asks her pupils to write down three questions deemed most important to fate or God. The questions are of a very abstract nature, dealing with the far future, religion and morals, etc.

But when the author asks her pupils to write down the thought that comes to their minds spontaneously, without reflecting, the questions and wishes deal with the nearest future and they are all of them personal. This proves how much narrower, more personal, are our problems when we proceed from the conscious to the unconscious.

Katherine Jones.

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Trigant Burrow. Social Images *versus* Reality. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, No. 3.

The tendency to psychological obscurantism and blurred presentation characteristic of this writer's publications is nowhere more evident than in the present article, which for this reason is extremely difficult to abstract. He speaks of a social unconsciousness without making it at all clear what he means by this beyond stating that it is a tendency ' to substitute social pictures in our quest for personal satisfaction '. He states that the mechanisms of this social unconsciousness are comparable with those

operating in respect of the personal unconsciousness without elucidating this antithesis between a personal and a ' social mind ', as he calls it.

His doctrine of psychological relativity, which he compares with the relativity of Einstein, leads him to the following significant conclusion, that ' What is called the mother image is but the sum of the impressions reflected by the mother from the social environment about her and that these impressions are again transmitted by us to others through the reflection within ourselves. If this is true, then the mother image bears no relation whatever to the mother organism and our impression of this early association of our childhood is totally unconnected with the personality from whom we receive it '. Again, ' The image we unconsciously cherish is not the image of the mother's personality. It is the image (*sic*) of the social suggestion that has surrounded the mother '.

Dr. Burrow's solution of what he calls psycho-analytical confusion is to point out that ' still not recognizing this fanciful (social) image we arbitrarily call it " love for the mother " '. The article is of interest as exemplifying yet another of the many ingenious hypotheses which have in common a weakening of the significance of incest in human development.

James Glover.

BOOK REVIEWS

Collected Papers. Vol. I. By Sigmund Freud, M.D., LL.D. Authorized Translation under the supervision of Joan Riviere. (Hogarth Press & The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, 1925. Pp. 359. Price 21*s.*)

The greater part of this volume consists of papers published some thirty years ago, and for this reason it runs the risk of being read less carefully than the others on the supposition that later advances have rendered this early work out of date and unimportant.

It is therefore necessary to point out, especially to fresh readers, that, in the case of Freud's early work, to act on this supposition is to risk losing what no amount of industrious application to his later work can replace.

The grouping of these early papers with his history of the psycho-analytical movement provides an ideal approach to the subject for fresh students, by revealing in the papers themselves Freud's first tentative explorations of unknown territory which he has since mapped out with ever increasing confidence and thoroughness, while the History throws interesting and valuable light on the circumstances under which these early papers were written.

Some critics have complained of the absence of any adequate systematic exposition of psycho-analytical theory, but even if such a formidable work existed serious students could not be absolved from the task of following the historical development of the science in a way rendered possible by the present collection of papers.

In the first paper, an appreciation of Charcot and his work, Freud, as it were, takes leave of certain clinical traditions on which he was nourished as a student, making handsome acknowledgment of them in the person of his famous teacher, but the paper is of more than historical interest, for his discussion of Charcot's views on hysteria gives us the first interesting glimpse of that characteristic attitude of mind to such problems which was to inaugurate a fresh tradition in psycho-pathology. With the second paper, on the psychical mechanism of hysterical phenomena, we come to a preliminary stage in the evolution of the Theory and Practice of Psycho-analysis, about which two interesting historical points are to be noted.

The ' trauma ' theory and ' cathartic ' therapy here first described have been persistently regarded as constituting the basic realities of psycho-analysis, all subsequent developments, including those which distinguish the method from any other branch of psychotherapy, tending to be depreciated, misunderstood or regarded as superfluous and eccentric addenda. In other words, when Breuer parted company with his collaborator at this stage, he headed a long procession which continued to this day. Again, decades after the publication of this paper, when the sufferings

of neurotic soldiers brought psychogenic sources of illness into special prominence, the Breuer-Freud hypothesis presented in it suddenly sprouted luxuriously in the guise of alleged independent psychological dis coveries.

The third paper, on organic and hysterical paralyses, one would wish to be read by those neurologists in this country who regard the psycho-analytical method as the outcome of a highly speculative *à priori* doctrine, evolved in ignorant disregard of the disciplines of organic medicine !

In the fourth paper, on the Defence Neuro-psychoses, the ' psychological theory ' of their origin adumbrated in the second paper begins to take definite shape as a distinctively psycho-analytical hypothesis, introducing the conceptions of repression, conversion, affect, displacement, etc., and emphasizing the part played by sexuality in mental conflict.

Papers V and VI concern themselves with crystallizing out of the vague comprehensive concept of neurasthenia the definite clinical entities now grouped as the actual neuroses, in differentiating between them and demonstrating their relationships to the psycho-neuroses. Quite apart from the fact that the passage of time has added little to their clinical value, these papers, both the descriptive one and the second, which is a reply to criticisms, will always occupy a high place in Freud's writings as models alike of clinical presentation and of clinical discussion.

The seventh paper, ' Obsessions and Phobias,' continues the work of differentiating clinical material in the light of better understanding of its psychogenesis. It is possible that fresh readers may be misled by the simplicity of brief clinical examples quoted unless the date of publication is borne in mind, and it is realized that their appearance of simplicity is due to the fact that at this date Freud was more concerned with the broad outlines of his novel working hypothesis.

The eighth paper, on ' Heredity and the Ætiology of the Neuroses,' appeared at a time when Freud attached greater importance to actual environmental influences, e.g. childhood seductions in the ætiology of the psycho-neuroses, and therefore presents a stronger case against the import-ance of heredity than can be maintained in the light of later discoveries. There has recently been evidenced in the psycho-analytical movement a decided tendency to shift the emphasis in ætiology ever further back in the developmental series, thus progressively reducing the significance of the environmental factor, and perusal of this paper arouses the wish that another with the same title might be written to-day.

Paper IX, ' Further Remarks on the Defence Neuro-Psychoses,' notably shows considerable advance in the elucidation of the obsessional neurosis, and in this paper the validity of the new hypothesis is demon-strated in a fresh direction, in a short study of a case of paranoia.

Paper X, another early investigation into the ætiology of hysteria, is mostly concerned with establishing behind the traumatic memories of the

Breuer stage earlier ætiological factors in the shape of infantile sexual experiences. In it the 'exaggerated reaction' of the hysteric is first explained.

The last of this series of early papers written between 1893 and 1898 is one on sexuality and ætiology which sums up the relationship of sexual disturbances to illness and contains several trenchant references to social aspects of this problem.

Two papers published in 1904 on psycho-therapy and on the psycho-analytical method give a simple account of the nature, aim and scope of the latter and deal with anticipated criticisms. Both papers are specially recommended to fresh readers.

The next paper, on 'Sexuality and the Neuroses', is from the historical standpoint perhaps the most interesting in the whole volume, for in it Freud describes how he came to abandon his previous view that infantile sexual traumas were the primary source of neurotic illness and to replace it with recognition of sexual infantilism as the determining ætiological factor. This paper should be read in conjunction with Abraham's paper, 'Das Erleiden Sexueller Traumen als Form infantiler Sexualbetätigung', in which the apparent validity of the earlier view is explained in the light of the second.

The last paper, on the History of the Psycho-Analytical Movement, should be read carefully by every fresh student, as it gives an arresting account of the unique difficulties which have beset the development of the new science and which continue to threaten its progress. Psycho-analysts have been accused of sectarian exclusiveness, but after reading this paper it should be evident why defensive measures having the semblance of this cannot be avoided if the future development of scientific discoveries arousing such manifold resistances is not to be gravely compromised by the success of the latter.

James Glover.

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Collected Papers. Vol. II. By Sigmund Freud, M.D., LL.D. Authorized translation under the supervision of Joan Riviere. (The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, 1924. Pp. 404. Price 21*s*.)

In a brief editorial preface to this second volume of Freud's *Collected Papers*, Dr. Jones has given prospective readers a serviceable degree of orientation as to the nature of the contributions and at the same time has anticipated whatever might be said by way of comment on their selection. The first and third volumes, devoted respectively to early papers and to detailed case-histories, took shape, as it were, spontaneously; similarly the fourth volume, on metapsychology and applied psycho-analysis, comprises naturally the theoretical and non-clinical amongst Freud's shorter contributions to the science. A grouping of this sort was indeed the only prac-

ticable one and it has been judiciously carried out. Owing, however, to the wide range of subjects dealt with by the author, it was inevitable that one of the volumes, in this case the present volume of ' clinical papers ', should tend to give a first impression of having been squeezed into an elastic-sided category only with the help of the editorial shoehorn. But if a casual reading of the table of contents seems to suggest that we have been presented with a psycho-analytical *olla podrida*, study of the papers themselves will not only completely dispel the impression but end in evoking lively admiration for the skill with which they have been arranged.

By calling attention merely to two homogeneous groups of papers in the volume, the editor has done himself less than justice ; the first half of the volume contains a series of papers on anal erotism, the obsessional predisposition, and instinctual transformation the importance of which cannot be overestimated. Not only do these latter expand earlier views on the significance of the anal-erotic stage of development but they show the process of subdivision of the pregenital systems as it were *in statu nascendi*, whilst the paper on transformation of instincts gives in addition the necessary clinical background to Freud's fundamental essay on instinct which appears in the fourth volume. In this connection some comment of a general nature falls to be made : this is essentially a volume to be read with the assistance of certain key books. Dr. Jones, remarking on the abstruse nature of the papers on masochism and on the relation of neurosis to psychosis, has pointed out that these centre round Freud's treatise *Das Ich und das Es*, and has very properly counselled readers to postpone study of these essays until they are familiar with the contents of this treatise. A similar suggestion concerning study of the early papers on ' pregenital ' development may not be ill-timed : these should be read in conjunction with Freud's *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* and should be supplemented by perusal of the detailed studies of Jones, Abraham and others on cognate matters.

Indeed it might be said that much of the seeming lack of continuity in the first half of the volume is due to the fact that cognate material had appeared in other of Freud's publications (e.g. the Leonardo da Vinci study) and that he was content to amplify his three essays on sexual theory with footnotes in subsequent editions. In the latter half of this volume one can follow without effort a connected thread of observation and deduction. The papers on homosexuality, beating phantasies, jealousy and masochism date from a time when the groundwork of pregenital organization had been firmly established and when attention had been turned to the more detailed structure of the ego, a bridge having been built, one might say, through the study of narcissism (see Fourth Volume). But, as has already been suggested, when one comes to the dynamic and economic consideration of masochism as dealt with in the latest papers, it is essential not only to be familiar with Freud's recent views on ego-structure (*Das Ich und das Es*)

but to have read his essay on grief and to have appreciated his view of instinctual deflection as set forth in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Fortified with this understanding, the papers on neurosis, psychosis and loss of reality will be found to provide exceedingly lucid and helpful conventions, at the same time demonstrating that his previous work on ego-structure is able to stand the empirical test of resolving difficulties.

Regret has often been expressed that Freud should have found it necessary to be sparing of precise formulations on the technique of psycho-analysis. It is of course obvious that the wish for precise technical formulations is born of inner resistances, since a cartload of treatises on the subject would not provide that essential grasp of, or rather inner conviction concerning, the dynamics of treatment which can be gained only by personal analysis. Nevertheless, whilst in all cases analysis follows the same general lines, there are of necessity wide individual variations, which perhaps accounts for the fact that situations which may be simple to some analysts present difficulties to others. Hence the most we can hope for by way of technical exposition is in the meantime a series of articles on special aspects of the technique such as that with which the present volume concludes. Those interested in the ' active ' technique of Ferenczi will moreover find here such of Freud's views on the matter as are at present available.

It is unnecessary to make any comment on the value of these papers ; indeed it would be difficult to do so adequately without drawing on the reviewer's armoury of *clichés*. Minor criticisms of selection have little validity before the fact that it is one of a series of volumes which is indispensable for all psycho-analysts : one need have no hesitation in prophesying that this second volume will always be regarded as a treasure-house of psycho-analytical reference.

Edward Glover.

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Psychoanalytische Studien zur Charakterbildung. By Karl Abraham. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Vienna, 1925. Pp. 64.)

This little classic could serve as a model for psycho-analytical literature as regards both the value of its contents and the perspicuousness of the author's presentation. There is not a superfluous word in it, a fact which makes it difficult to describe its contents without reproducing the whole. Further, the author's clear and easy style makes it a charming volume to read. It is composed of the three following parts :

1. Ergänzungen zur Lehre vom Analcharakter. When the present reviewer tried to summarize what is known about the contributions made by anal erotism to character formation, he was loudly criticized for having ' reduced everything to anal erotism '. Experts, however, knew otherwise, and Dr. Abraham rightly remarks how far from exhaustive was the attempt. He is in agreement with all the points made in that essay, but supplements them by adding new ones and also by further illustrating from his rich

experience many of the aspects there touched on. He contrasts the two types of excessive docility and defiance and shows how they may be both present in the same person. He lays stress on the relationship between anal erotism and the sense of power and describes how regression may take place from the genital to the anal level, thus leading in its negative form to the manifestation for which he coins the happy expression ' intestinal impotence '. He discusses some of the respects in which anal reactions may get transferred to the analytic situation, and there again we have two contrasting types : on the one hand the type first described by Dr. Abraham in a previous contribution, where the patient insists on conducting the whole analysis independently of the analyst, and on the other hand the opposite type, where the patient insists on everything being done by the analyst alone ; in both cases the result is a refusal to enter into free association. The author rightly points out that some forms of anal character can be recognized by the physiognomy of the persons, particularly those with a characteristic morose expression.

2. Beiträge der Oralerotik zur Charakterbildung. A slight attempt was made by the present reviewer years ago (*Jahrbuch* V.) to investigate character traits derived from oral erotism, but only a few preliminary points could be established. No serious study of the matter has been attempted until now when Dr. Abraham, almost simultaneously with Dr. Edward Glover, provides us with an exceedingly valuable contribution. A peculiar feature of oral erotism is the great extent to which direct erotic gratification is still permitted in the adult. Sublimation is therefore less extensive than with other zones and, as the present reviewer had pointed out previously, a great part of the influence on character is exerted through the inter-relationship between oral and anal erotism. Dr. Abraham shows how primordial is the triangular relationship between the functions of acquiring, possessing and expending, and how the economic variation among these three has far-reaching effects in character formation.

The purest and perhaps the most typical form of direct sublimation seems to be the character trait of optimism, the certitude that one's wishes will be fulfilled and that the world will provide what one needs, as contrasted with the seriousness and pessimism of certain anal types, particularly those resulting from early disappointment of oral gratification. If there is either disappointment or spoiling during the early suckling period, this is usually followed by undue development of the later suckling, i.e. the biting, period, the earliest form of sadism, and also by the anal type of character. Like Dr. Edward Glover, Dr. Abraham insists on the tendency towards ambivalency in this later stage as contrasted with the single attitude of the earlier one. The varieties of envy, thrift and similar qualities are correlated with changes in the development of the oral stage.

One interesting type is that of the person who insistently demands attention and gifts from the outer world in vampire fashion. Dr. Abraham

would also group impatience here. Inhibition of oral erotism may lead to incapacity to acquire in life or to make progress in the person's career, this being often combined with the fear of losing whatever possessions exist. Curiously enough, this attitude may be combined with positive displacement or oral erotism confined to the sphere of speech. Some people with great fluency of speech are able to express many primitive impulses, such as aggressivity, by such means.

Dr. Abraham finally shows how oral erotism may be interwoven with other partial components, particularly curiosity, and discusses the combined influence on character formation.

3. Zur Charakterbildung auf der ' genitalen ' Entwicklungsstufe. This chapter is of a more general nature. The importance of tender feelings, deflected from their original goal, for the relationship with the outer world is insisted on, and Dr. Abraham discusses in this connection the problem of the unloved, for instance, the illegitimate, child.

Psycho-analysis disclaims the setting-up of any absolute norm and recognizes how character traits vary in the same individual at different ages and how standards vary from race to race and age to age. Nevertheless it may be said in general that approximation to normality involves above everything else the overcoming of the early stage of narcissism and ambivalency.

It will be seen that no psycho-analyst can afford to neglect careful study of this valuable contribution.

E. J.

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Peculiarities of Behaviour. By Wilhelm Stekel. Translated by James S. Van Teslar. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1925. 2 Vols. Pp. 328 & 337. Price 30*s.*)

These are two further bulky volumes from the pen of this clever but erratic writer. The contents will give some idea of the subjects dealt with : 1. Instinct, Affect and Impulse. 2. The Impulse to Wander. 3. Flight into Parapathiac Delirium. 4. Narcotomania (Drug Addiction). 5. Stealing (Theft). 6. The Sexual Roots of Cleptomania. 7. Clinical Observations. 8. Cleptomania, Pædophilia and Absence of Sexual Acme. 9. Analysis of a Cleptomaniac. 10. Analysis of a Case of Cleptomania. 11. Pyromania. 12. The Analysis of a Pyromaniac. 13. The Gambler. 14. The Psychic Treatment of Tic. 15. Retrospect and Prospect.

A discriminating and experienced psycho-analyst will find these volumes in many respects suggestive, but owing to the well-known characteristics of the author they cannot be recommended in general.

E. J.

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Principles of Psycho-Therapy. By Pierre Janet. Translated by H. M. and E. R. Guthrie. (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1925. Pp. 322. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.)

This book is of little current interest, its chief value being that of an historical record of certain aspects of the development of psycho-therapy. Psycho-analysis is dismissed in five pages of a very garbled account. The author stigmatizes it as 'vaultingly ambitious', 'magical' and 'paradoxical'. The author's news about the psycho-analytic movement seems to be nearly twenty years old. Of the eight pupils of Freud whom he mentions (two of whose names, by the way, are mis-spelt) only two or three would now be accounted as Freudians. He notes that psycho-analysis has spread from Austria to Switzerland, but does not mention that it has ever reached Germany!

The author repeats in this book his old accusation, which he has every reason to know to be untrue, that Freud learnt of Janet's discoveries on his visit to Paris, appropriated them, but that, only half understanding them, he was led into the distortions and exaggerations that constitute psycho-analysis. This accusation has several times been disproved in detail, so that it need not be further rebutted here.

In spite of the subsequent unfruitfulness of his work, Janet's name would always deserve honourable mention in the history of clinical psychology for the brilliancy of his early observations and experiments. Unfortunately it now seems possible, however, that his name may chiefly be remembered as that of a man who repeatedly calumniated a fellow-worker and who did not possess moral courage and rectitude enough to retract the false innuendoes when they were disproved to the world.

E. J.

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La Psychologie des Névroses. By Dr. O. L. Forel. (Librairie Kundig, Geneva. Pp. 258. Price 4 fr. Swiss.)

Dr. Forel is on safe ground when he claims that a rational psycho-therapy will select a treatment most appropriate to any given case of illness; not of course that the same practitioner may have equal skill in all forms of treatment. But if his therapeutic eclecticism is good, not the same commendation is to be made of his eclecticism in pathology. It sounds very broadminded to select all that is best in the pathologies of Adler, Freud, Janet, Jung and others and to weave them all together, but in the result one is inclined to echo Portia's complaint of Falconbridge. What would be said of a pathologist who agreed that malaria was sometimes due to parasitic infection from the mosquito and sometimes to inhaling bad air? The pathologies of Freud and Janet are as distinctive as this: if Janet's views are sound Freud's psycho-pathology cannot be upheld; it is no use repeating 'there is a lot in it'—we are dealing with scientific data, not political opinions.

Dr. Forel bestows eulogies more than enough upon Freud, ' l'auteur du mouvement psychologique le plus fécond de notre époque ', but how little he has understood this psychology may be inferred from a chance remark that psycho-analysts insist that all critics of psycho-analysis must be first analyzed (of course, that is not their contention—they demand of their critics a competent study of the subject, not the perusal of a text-book or two) ; this, says Dr. Forel, is as if one were to forgo any study of schizophrenia unless one had first been a schizophrenic.

Though so much is conceded in words to Freud's work, Forel comes back to the sound, fertile and original doctrine that psycho-neuroses and psychoses are due to an inherited inadaptability to environment ; neither fear nor sexual complexes promote the psycho-neuroses. No mention is made of the Freudian view of conflict between the sexual and ego impulses ; psycho-pathology is back to the position it took up a generation ago.

In the clinical descriptions of the various forms of psycho-neurosis and psychosis, Dr. Forel is exact and lucid ; he illustrates the differences between various types of disorder in a few happy touches and by occasional picturesque phrases.

Following others Forel distinguishes between the schizoid character and schizophrenia, and by analogy he distinguishes the nevroid character from the psycho-neurosis ; schizoid and nevroid are anomalies of character which may never pass into unfitness for life or into a neurosis ; the distinction, quantitative not qualitative, is of clinical value. He argues, correctly we believe, that a psychosis is never an extension of a neurosis ; his argument is of course based entirely on clinical grounds. Freud's recent excursions into nosology are not alluded to. But in the descriptions of these character anomalies Forel is at his best and the book is well worth studying for this alone. The nevroid cannot get away, he says, from his environment, although he is ever striving to ; he is like the too constant lover who, though knowing his suit hopeless, cannot take ' no ' for an answer.

M. D. Eder.

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Problems of Personality. Studies in honour of Dr. Morton Prince. Edited by C. MacFie Campbell, M.A., M.D., H. S. Langfeld, Ph.D., Wm. McDougall, D.Sc., F.R.S., A. A. Roback, A.M., Ph.D., E. W. Taylor, A.M., Ph.D. (Kegan Paul & Co., London ; Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1925. Pp. 434. Price 18*s*.)

This volume consists of twenty-four essays written in commemoration of Dr. Morton Prince's seventieth birthday. As is befitting to his own wide range of interests, the field here covered is very extensive. The subjoined list of contents will explain why it is impossible to review such a volume in the usual way.

General Essays.

1. The Evolution of Intelligence and the Thraldom of Catch-Phrases. By G. Elliot Smith.
2. Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology. By Ernest Jones.
3. Notes on Suggestion, Empathy, and Bad Thinking in Medicine. By William A. White.

Studies in Psychology.

4. Does the Will express the Entire Personality ? By Ed. Claparède.
5. An Experience during Danger and the Wider Functions of Emotion. By George M. Stratton.
6. On recent Contributions to the Study of the Personality. By C. MacFie Campbell.
7. Character and Inhibition. By A. A. Roback.

Studies in Abnormal Psychology and Psycho-Pathology.

8. On Memories which are too Real. By Pierre Janet.
9. Some Medico-Legal Experiences, with Comments and Reflections. By Charles K. Mills.
10. Some Medical Aspects of Witchcraft. By E. W. Taylor.
11. Divisions of the Self and Co-consciousness. By T. W. Mitchell.
12. The Handwriting in Nervous Diseases, with Special Reference to the Signatures of William Shakespeare. By Charles L. Dana.
13. The Static and Kinetic Representations of the Efferent Nervous System in the Psycho-Motor Sphere. By J. Ramsay Hunt.
14. The Development of Psycho-pathology as a Branch of Science. By Bernard Hart.
15. The Subconscious, the Unconscious, and the Co-conscious. By Knight Dunlap.
16. The Association of Psycho-Neurosis with Mental Deficiency. By Charles S. Myers.

Psycho-Analysis (Pro and Con).

17. Professor Freud's Group Psychology and his Theory of Suggestion. By Wm. McDougall.
18. Psychological Types. By C. G. Jung.
19. Suggestion and Personality. By William Brown.
20. The Unconscious in Psycho-Analysis—A Criticism. By Henry Herbert Goddard.
21. Unconscious Dynamics and Human Behaviour : A Glimpse at some Inter-Relationships of Structure and Function. By Smith Ely Jelliffe.
22. The Metamorphosis of Dreams. By John T. MacCurdy.

Miscellaneous Papers.

23. Conflict and Adjustment in Art. By Herbert Sidney Langfeld.
24. Prince's ' Neurogram ' Concept in its Historical Position. By Lydiard H. Horton.

The reader will expect from such a galaxy of authors that they should produce a volume of great interest and considerable value. Perhaps the most noteworthy, at least in the present reviewer's opinion, are those by Claparède, Mitchell, Dana, Hart, Brown and Jelliffe. It will be seen that a high percentage of the essays deal with psycho-analysis, mostly in a critical sense. The criticisms range from the unsupported abuse of Elliot Smith, the understanding but sceptical attitude of Bernard Hart, the emotionalism of McDougall and Dunlap to the sympathetic but uninformed attitude of Goddard.

E. J.

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The Nervous Patient. By Millais Culpin, M.D. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.). (H. K. Lewis & Co., London. Pp. viii. + 305. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Protean are the disguises assumed by the manifestations of any mental disorder; the unmasking of these disguises, the diagnosis of the patient's illness, requires more than ordinary acumen and care on the doctor's part; it demands some understanding of the workings of the unconscious; a recognition that to label a sufferer as a neurasthenic and the prescription of a rest-cure do not comprise the whole art and science of psycho-therapy. Appreciating the difficulties of the practitioner in diagnosing a psycho-neurosis in the possible absence of obvious nervous symptoms, for the patient 'may have most disabling phobias, but will state them in terms of popular cardiology: he cannot go on a tube, train or in a crowd because it affects his heart', Dr. Culpin has succeeded in his task of lessening these diagnostic difficulties. It is no doubt altogether unwarrantable to mistake a case of differentiated sclerosis for hysteria, but it seems at first sight a little odd why the inverse error should be almost accounted as a virtue; anyway those aspiring to this kind of virtue must eschew Dr. Culpin's book, for he puts his points with commendable crispness, clearness and in technical language. Whilst quite emphatic as to the disguises assumed by the sufferer from an anxiety state, Dr. Culpin abandons something of his usual caution when he claims that it is diagnostic of an obsession that the patient 'knows its unreality and feels that it is derived from something apart from his real self'. In a number of persons with obsessional neurosis there is no such insight; such patients may use words implying something of the kind —'awfully silly, I know', 'quite futile', but these words arise from a superficial rationalization which soon breaks down.

Dr. Culpin is very properly much concerned with our nomenclature, which is certainly unhappy; the term neurasthenia seems fortunately to be succumbing to the onslaughts of the last twenty years. The author proposes to replace psycho-neurosis by minor psychosis. Psycho-neurosis is etymologically as objectionable as Dr. Culpin makes it, but its etymology is blanketed by now and the literature seems to have given the term a sufficiently clear connotation. Minor psychosis seems no improvement; it

focusses attention on the question of certification or non-certification whilst stress will be laid upon the ' minor '. A severe obsessional state is as crippling a disease as a major psychosis. If Freud's recent attempts in nosology stand, it is well to have a clear verbal classification between such conditions as hysteria and schizophrenia.

For a purist the title of this book is not a very happy one ; Harley Street must be full of ' nervous patients ' who are, however, not the ' nervy patients ' of Dr. Culpin's theme.

Dr. Stanford Read contributes a very short chapter on the major psychoses in general practice ; in the few pages at his disposal he manages to convey some weighty warnings both in diagnosis and treatment.

The chapter on eye symptoms by Dr. Inman is excellent ; its lessons should be taken to heart by specialists, including psycho-analysts and practitioners alike.

M. D. Eder.

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The Mind in Health and Disease. By T. Waddelow Smith, F.R.C.S. (Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1925. Demy 8vo. Pp. viii. + 236. Six coloured plates. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Conceive a very scrappy note-book of a medical student with crudely coloured diagrams, incomplete sentences, mis-spellings and misunderstandings, and you will have a good idea of this book.

The first forty-one pages give in tabloid form the histology, embryology, physiology and chemistry of the organism, followed by the anatomy and physiology of the nervous system and the functions of the ductless glands. Normal and morbid psychology are compressed into the next seventy pages, and the volume ends with a not too accurate account of the various mental diseases.

While the anxiety neurosis is explained in terms of the vegetative nervous system and vagotonia, there is no reference to atrophy of the sex glands in dementia præcox.

' If there were no intrapsychic conflicts there would be no mind.' ' Personality depends chiefly upon the inherent properties of nerve cells ' and mental deficiency is ' due to malformation of the cells of the nervous system '.

The author, while apparently sympathetic towards psycho-analysis, gives no coherent account of it, but merely a collection of sentimental statements, a curious one of which is ' No one should dare to practise psycho-analysis before, if he be a man, the age of fifty, if a woman, that of forty '.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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Health and Personality. By John S. Griffiths, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.L. (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1924. Pp. 320. Price 6*s.* net.)

This book is full of the usual platitudes, and is of a semi-religious and

moralizing nature. The author mentions psycho-analysis only unreservedly to condemn it, and from the very few remarks he makes about it he shows his total ignorance of the subject.

D. B.

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The Origin of Man. By Carveth Read, M.A., Emeritus Professor in the University of London. (Cambridge University Press, 1925. Pp. 100. Price 5*s*.)

The central idea of this book is that the main variation determining man's departure from the anthropoid apes was the development of a carnivorous diet and the hunting instinct. Professor Read appears to have come on the idea spontaneously, although it has been put forward by several other writers. The volume is an interesting deductive attempt to show how many of man's physical and mental characteristics have been the product of this variation.

E. J.

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A Short History of Christian Theophagy. By Preserved Smith, Ph.D. (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1922. Pp. 223.)

After an introductory chapter indicating the relation between the Christian mass and the earlier theophagic ceremonies, particularly in Greece, the author proceeds to give a detailed account of the theological discussions, which took place mainly at the time of the Reformation, on the precise religious significance of this rite. The author throws no psychological light on the problem, but his book is a valuable and scholarly compendium of the theological elements comprising the problem.

E. J.

*

The Biology of Death. By Raymond Pearl. (Lippincott, London. Pp. 275. Price 12*s*. 6*d*.)

This volume by one of the leading scientific men of America is one of great value and wide interest. We mention it here because much of its content has a bearing on Freud's later work, particularly his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*. Those who remember the discussion in that book of the problem of somatic immortality will be interested to know that Professor Pearl, after carefully reviewing all the evidence, comes to the definite conclusion that uni-cellular organisms are immortal. The same is of course true of the germ cells of multi-cellular animals, and Carrel's recent work would seem to show that even somatic cells of multi-cellular organisms are in themselves immortal, losing this feature only through the complexity of life in the multi-cellular organism. The phenomenon of death is therefore in no sense inherent in vital organisms, but has made its appearance at a relatively late stage in evolution.

Of the many other interesting conclusions reached by Professor Pearl,

we may single out the following : the death rate operative during infancy is of a strongly selective character, so that the indiscriminate saving of life at that age has the result that the later adult population has less chance of longevity than it otherwise would. The evidence collected from earlier periods of history, including even ancient Egypt, seems to show pretty definitely that the ' expectation of life ' at middle age is considerably less nowadays than it used to be ; whereas of course the ' expectation of life ' at birth has very greatly increased.

From an enormous mass of data Professor Pearl shows that the actual causes of death are not haphazard, but on the whole occur in fairly definite order. Thus up to fifty more deaths are due to affections of the respiratory tract than to affections of any other system. After this age the heart plays the part previously taken by the lungs. The kidneys are the organs of third importance in this respect. Classifying the data according to the embryonal layer most affected, the conclusion is reached that the endoderm is the most vulnerable and the ectoderm the least. This is correlated with the fact that the endoderm has undergone the least adaptive changes in the course of evolution. Professor Pearl confirms the conclusions reached by previous writers to the effect that heredity is the most important factor in determining the length of life. He puts forward the hypothesis that heredity decides the amount of vital energy with which the individual starts his existence, whereas environment mainly affects the length of life by determining the rate at which this energy is expended ; roughly, therefore, the more active the metabolism the shorter the life.

The last chapter of the book is taken up with the discussion of Malthusianism and the population question. This is dealt with in a very fresh and systematic manner.

E. J.

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The Lady Julian. By Robert H. Thouless, M.A., Ph.D. (S.P.C.K., London. Pp. 122. 4*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The essential laws of psycho-analysis are now so soundly established that their application to diverse and diverging human types becomes an enlightening and engaging task.

Throughout all history the gifts and graces of the mystic make him recognizable as a being apart, and in our days as a being worth understanding or trying to understand. Prior to the psycho-analytic clue to the unconscious the scientific investigator was usually content to give a nickname to those states of mind which he either disliked or could not understand. Mr. Thouless rightly protests against dismissing the mystic with the label pathological or morbid ; thereby we are no whit further on. Writing as he explains in his preface from the standpoint of a Christian modern psychologist, the author does much better than might be expected from the adjectives. He makes no attempt to reconcile religion and science, but

writes as a psychologist who accepts the Christian doctrines. Here is not the occasion to pronounce upon this attitude, but so much may be said : psycho-analysis holds, just as does Christianity, that man is by nature bad or limited and that he only accomplishes anything through heroic disciplines (psycho-analysis being, by the way, one such discipline).

Modern psychology reaches this concept by a path very different from that of Christianity and its critique inferred from the terms polymorphic-perverse, sublimation, etc. is relative to a developed standard ; for Christianity the critique is absolute and based upon the theological concepts.

Those who are acquainted with the author's earlier and graceful essay upon the psychology of religion know that by psychology Mr. Thouless means psychology ; not some sentimental verbiage about the higher mind, extraverts, introverts, corregios and stuff. He nowhere shirks difficult issues, which is of course not to say that he always surmounts them.

The essential factor in mysticism is, he contends, ' the redirection to God of the passions, longings and transports of human love '. In technical language a displacement of the earliest love-objects on to God. It is a disappointment that in this biographical sketch of the Lady Julian Mr. Thouless does not show us more exactly how it worked in this particular case. As psychologists, as mere human beings, we are concerned to know something of the psychisms by which saints and mystics are formed. What was it in the life-history of the Lady Julian that caused or enabled her to withdraw love from those objects which engage us others and to fasten her love on God ? She had her diabolic visitations, for which Mr. Thouless makes no apology ; he disagrees with those who judge ' the worth of a religious mystic by the smallness of such pathological elements '. Whilst in complete agreement that pathological is a misnomer, we should prefer to speak of such phenomena as betraying normality, an ordinary mode of fantastic substitution in the absence of any fulfilment of instinctual desires —we cannot agree that such visitations do not detract from her saintliness. The pure saint (using ' pure ' as employed in physics or chemistry) is on Mr. Thouless's definition entirely directed towards God ; surely if there are any instinctual desires not so displaced, the less saint she. Whether such saintly perfection has been realised I do not know.

The chapter on the Lady Julian's perplexities on the problems of sin and her way out is not, psychologically speaking, very satisfactory. The opinion that there is a fundamental difference between the mediæval and modern views concerning sin and pain seems very questionable. Rabelais and Montaigne, for instance, were troubled about suffering, not sin ; Carlyle and Nietzsche about sin, not suffering. Lady Julian's way out is the mere statement that God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world. Pippa required no mystical insight to acclaim this, but we ask from the mystic something more. The claim that the Lady Julian and others have

a right to respond to apparently hopeless situations by an optimistic belief seems essentially unsound. The human mind must have the courage to destroy illusions.

The account of Lady Julian's showings is given with psychological insight; it corresponds in mechanism with Silberer's auto-symbolic phenomena.

On page 111 Mr. Thouless repeats an erroneous view of Buddhism which has been made current in this country by Max Müller, a view that the conclusions of later scholars seem powerless to alter. This is, however, a minor matter; Mr. Thouless's book is a sincere and scientific psychological study of one of the greatest of England's mystics.

M. D. Eder.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY THE

GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. M. EITINGON

I. *Announcement by the General Executive*

As has already been announced, the Congress will take place on September 3–5 at Bad Homburg, near Frankfurt-am-Main. It has been decided not to hold a Symposium on a given subject, since most of the branches have not expressed themselves in favour of this plan. Three mornings and one afternoon will be available for scientific meetings, and it is proposed that twenty papers should be read. Notice of papers should be sent in to the Executive by the 1st, or at latest the 15th, of June. The final programme of the Congress will be sent in July to the members of the Association.

II. *Reports of the Branch Societies*

THE AMERICAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

The mid-year meeting of the American Psycho-Analytical Association was held on December 28, 1924, at the Fraternity Club House, New York City. Afternoon and evening sessions were held, both well attended by members and guests.

Members present were Drs. Ames, Asch, Brill, Jelliffe, Kempf, Oberndorf, Stern, Kardiner, Meyer, Glueck, Polon and Stragnell, of New York; Burrow, Chapman and Chapman, of Baltimore; Coriat and Peck, of Boston; Hamill, of Chicago; Smeltz and Wholey, of Pittsburg; Menninger, of Topeka; Hutchings, of Utica State Hospital, New York. Dr. I. H. Coriat presided.

Following the opening address by the President, the following papers were read in the afternoon session:

1. An organismic interpretation of consciousness: Dr. Trigant Burrow, of Baltimore.
2. Varieties of repression: Dr. H. S. Sullivan, of Baltimore.
3. Recent advances in psycho-therapy: Dr. A. Polon, of New York.

At the evening session were read the following papers:

1. Psycho-analysis in art: Dr. Gregory Stragnell, of New York.
2. The transference: Dr. Ralph Hamill, of Chicago.
3. What is a cure in psycho-analysis: Dr. Bernard Glueck, of New York.

An active and interesting discussion, partaken of by a majority of the members present, followed the reading of the papers.

Adolph Stern,
Secretary.

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1925

January 10, 1925. Dr. Reich (Vienna, guest of the Society) : The type of character in which ' instinct ' is predominant.

January 20, 1925. Short communications :

a. Dr. Hárnik : The transference-resistance in an obsessional neurosis.

b. Dr. Sachs : On the origin of the threat of castration.

c. Dr. Abraham : The repression of the Œdipus complex.

January 27, 1925. General Meeting.

Adoption of the reports of the President, the Treasurer, the Director of the Polyclinic and the Committee for administering the Polyclinic Extension Fund and Expenditure on Training. The outgoing Committee members were re-elected—*President :* Dr. Abraham ; *Secretary :* Dr. Eitingon ; *Treasurer :* Dr. Boehm.

Dr. Ernest Jones (London) was elected an honorary member of the Berlin Society. Frau Dr. Benedek and Dr. Löwenstein were elected members. Frl. Dr. Salonica Kempner, of the Vienna Society, transferred her membership to the Berlin Society. Cand. med. Rohr has left to join the Moscow Branch.

February 3, 1925. Dr. Schultz-Hencke (guest of the Society) : Notes from the analysis of a case of melancholiac depression.

February 14, 1925. Dr. Radó : (1) Review of Freud's paper, ' The economic problem in masochism ' ; (2) The influence of the Nirvana-principle.

The Berlin Psycho-Analytical Institute held a celebration in honour of its fifth anniversary.

February 26, 1925. Short communications :

a. Dr. Sachs : A hypnagogic phantasy.

b. Frau Klein : An analogy between children's phantasies and certain crimes.

c. Dr. Fenichel : (1) The phantasy of the mother's womb and the Œdipus complex ; (2) Screen-memories *in statu nascendi*.

d. Dr. Abraham : The significance of verbal connections in neurotic symptom-formation.

e. Dr. Alexander : Report of legal proceedings arising out of a case of kleptomania.

March 10, 1925. Dr. Liebermann : A contribution to the problem of the actual occurrence of a trauma in childhood.

March 19, 1925. Continuation of the discussions on :

a. Dr. Radó's paper of February 14, 1925, ' The influence of the Nirvana-principle '.

b. Dr. Liebermann's paper of March 10, 1925, ' The problem of the actual occurrence of a trauma in childhood '.

March 28, 1925. Dr. Lampl (guest of the Society): A case of the ' borrowed ' sense of guilt.

On January 28, Dr. Müller-Braunschweig delivered a lecture in Brunswick to an audience of about 150 at a meeting of the Lessing Society. This lecture, entitled ' The Psycho-Analysis of Dreams ', led to a lively controversy in the Press.

BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1925

January 7, 1925. Discussion on Miss Searl's paper, given at the last meeting, entitled ' A Question of Technique in Child-Analysis in Relation to the Œdipus Complex '.

Mrs. Riviere remarked that the inherited incest-prohibition arose originally from the impossibility of indulging Œdipus wishes without exposing the self to danger of death, i.e. from a self-preservative impulse within the individual, and not from any ' civilizing ' tendency or disposition; it is therefore an introjection of this impossibility (of a state of things existing in reality) into the mind. This danger of death if Œdipus wishes are allowed to remain in consciousness or come into consciousness no longer exists; the original motive for repression is thus no longer valid.

The strength of inherited inhibitions is sufficient to ensure a moderate degree of control of the Œdipus wishes, which is the desideratum for normal development. The creation of an unduly strict or severe super-ego, evolved by a too extensive transmutation of repressed or undischarged parental object-cathexes into identifications, will be avoided by a sufficient degree of maintenance of these object-cathexes in consciousness, enabling them to be discharged and sublimated as such. But both these results depend on a normal environment for the child. Where the parents permit too great a discharge of Œdipus-libido, or encourage the creation of too severe a super-ego by favouring too heavy repression, the proper balance is likely to be difficult for the analyst to secure; in this quarter the true difficulties in the analysis of children are probably to be found, and not in any theoretical or inherent obstacle to it.

Dr. Ernest Jones distinguished between the possibility and the desirability of making the child aware of the full implications of the Œdipus complex during infancy. He considered the former question had been answered in the affirmative, and he knew of no reason why the latter should not also be so answered. He could not agree with the distinctions Miss Searl had drawn between infant and adult, for all the distinguishing points she mentioned were equally valid, particularly for the neurotic adult. The

difficulty of conscious assimilation experienced by the child was due ultimately to fear of certain consequences, and it was the duty of the analyst to get the child to realize that the latter were unreal.

Dr. James Glover criticized the contention that at any stage of development the making conscious of the repressed, if properly carried out, could have deleterious effects. A possible exception was the child destined to develop along psychotic lines, but this exception was open to doubt. Discussion of the relative importance of (1) a possible phylogenetic inheritance of primal fantasies, (2) the child's appreciation of the unconscious attitudes of the parents.

Mr. James Strachey read an abstract, communicated by Mrs. Strachey, of the proceedings at the Berlin Psycho-Analytical Society on December 13, 1924. On this occasion Frau Melanie Klein read a paper upon child-analysis, and the discussion which followed raised questions similar to those arising from Miss Searl's paper. Frau Klein maintained that her experience showed that psycho-analytic treatment, in the strictest sense of the word, was applicable to even very young children, though a special technique was necessary. The general impression derived from the Berlin discussion was that the only satisfactory means of reaching valid conclusions upon the subject was by collecting further first-hand data rather than by relying upon theoretical deductions.

Other members joined in the discussion.

January 21, 1925. Mr. J. C. Flügel: Some psychological factors in the international language movement, with especial reference to Esperanto. Philanthropic and linguistic motives in the universal language movement. Predominance of the former in Esperanto and resulting differentiation of this from other similar movements. Personality of Zamenhof. Solution of the Œdipus complex with him and his followers; its effect on the Esperanto movement. Comparison of Esperanto to early Christianity.

The rôle of the castration complex and of anal-erotic factors in language. Ethnological evidence. Inferiority-feeling in relation to foreign languages; national differences in respect thereof. Nature of the satisfaction given by an international language. The disgust aroused by an artificial language; this disgust experienced more sharply by cultivated persons. Psychological implication of the Tower of Babel and the Pentecostal gift of tongues.

A discussion followed.

February 3, 1925. Dr. Douglas Bryan: The question of physical factors in frigidity. Dr. Bryan first gave an abstract of a paper by Dr. Narjani, of Paris. This writer considers that the lack of orgasm in women during coitus is due in a certain proportion of cases to the clitoris being placed too high. Dr. Bryan brought forward certain points that seemed to support Dr. Narjani's views.

The discussion centred round the question whether vaginal orgasm during coitus could take place apart from clitoral stimulation at that time,

or whether clitoral orgasm always accompanied vaginal orgasm. This question apparently could not be definitely decided.

February 18, 1925. Dr. Mary Barkas: The treatment of psychotic patients in institutions in the light of psycho-analysis. Dr. Barkas read a short communication dealing with the treatment of psychoses in which the following questions were raised:

1. What conditions determine the applicability of psycho-analysis to (*a*) prevention, and (*b*) cure of psychoses, and what modifications of technique are required in dealing with such cases?

2. Since psychoses of certain types do tend to recover in hospitals, what light does psycho-analysis throw on the mental factors operating in such recoveries?

3. Does our knowledge of the structure and mechanism of psychoses suggest any improvement of such treatment in cases where psycho-analysis is not applicable?

It was suggested that, generally speaking, the present methods of institutional treatment seem to tend to promote an ever deeper regression than that already produced by the psychosis, and then to encourage the reliving of the various developmental phases under simplified conditions in which the *personnel* of the hospital represents parent *imagines*. Our knowledge of the development of the ego and ego-ideal and their relations with the *id* should help us to a better handling of these cases.

A discussion followed.

March 4, 1925. Dr. Edward Glover: 'Bruderkrieg' in a Lanarkshire village. Description of various group-formations of male children arising spontaneously in a rural village, with special reference to 'pubertal' and 'latency' groups. The constitution of these latter groups, their direct and sublimated libido-activities, the nature of leadership. Cyclical periods of unrest culminating in the ceremony of 'showing' and followed by temporary disintegration of the group. The castration and homosexual significance of 'showing': its possible relation to the activities of primal group-formations.

A discussion followed.

March 18, 1925. Miss Mary Chadwick: A case of kleptomania in a child. An account of the analysis of a case of kleptomania in a girl of ten, of many years' standing. The symptom forced itself upon the notice of the parents and schoolmistress when first the child went to school after the birth of a sister, concerning whose advent she felt great curiosity and asked many questions which were unanswered. One of the most interesting features of the case was the gradual disclosure of the classical roots of her trouble, working backwards during the analysis from the more superficial, less painful to the more emotionally-toned origins that lay in her early years; that is to say, her stealing was first interpreted as taking possession of the baby, the last significance that was attached to it was the robbing of

the penis of the brother. A large number of phantasies connected with various topics emerged through the lifting of repressions, following the same main theme and connected with her chief symptom; the most important were the eagle phantasies, matriarchal phantasies, and those dealing with direct death-wishes concerning the elder brother and younger sister.

Material allied to myth and legend was plentiful, and one was able to catch a glimpse of the thoughts and means of expression familiar to a child before it was conversant with speech as we know it, by which she tried to convey her thoughts and feelings to those around.

A discussion followed.

Change of Address.—Miss Cecil M. Baines, c/o Miss Urwick, 9, Eldon Road, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1925

January 31, 1925. Annual General Meeting.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, the annual reports of the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Librarian were adopted. Professor Dr. K. B. Bouman was re-elected Librarian. The following were elected to the Council:—*President:* Dr. J. E. G. van Emden; *Treasurer:* A. van der Chijs; *Secretary:* A. Endtz. The outgoing Secretary, Dr. Adolph F. Meyer, did not stand again on account of his serious illness, from which he had not yet quite recovered. At the scientific meeting, Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuysen continued his paper on Sadism.

March 28, 1925.

a. Dr. Knappert: *Conceptio immaculata* in neurosis.

b. Dr. J. E. G. van Emden: Clinical communications.

A. Endtz,
Secretary.

HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

First Quarter, 1925

January 10, 1925.

a. Frau Alice Balint: The problem of the understanding in the case of Karl Böhm.

b. Dr. I. Hermann: Clinical notes on the case of a woman suffering from (apparent) periodical emotional insensibility and periodical outbreaks of sadism.

c. Dr. S. Lóránd (guest of the Society): The 'thread of life' in Jewish ritual.

d. Dr. S. Pfeifer : (1) A method of recovering lost infantile memories, taking as a starting-point the patient's own child ; (2) Flight from the transference.

January 27, 1925. Dr. W. S. Inman (guest of the Society) : Application of psycho-analytical knowledge to the treatment of diseases of the eye (paper read in English).

February 7, 1925. General Meeting. The annual report was adopted ; the subscription of membership was fixed at 300,000 crowns ; the Council was re-elected and a discussion was held on the possibilities of disseminating psycho-analytical knowledge throughout the country.

February 21, 1925. Dr. I. Hermann : Regressions in the orientation of the ego.

March 7, 1925. Dr. S. Lóránd (guest of the Society) : Parturition under hypnosis and the subsequent analysis of the mother.

March 21, 1925. Dr. S. Róheim : The scapegoat.

New Member.—Dr. Sándor Lóránd (at present in Budapest) was elected to membership.

The Society drew up the plan of a course of lectures for physicians, to be held in April and May. A medical journal published in Budapest has refused to co-operate in any way in this connection and gives the following reason for its refusal : ' Our Faculty and, as far as we know, the other Hungarian Universities repudiate so strongly the psycho-analytical theories of Freud and Ferenczi that this journal, as the official organ of the Universities, cannot undertake either to propagate or to discuss these theories ' (signed by the Editor).

Dr. Imre Hermann,
Secretary.

SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Third Quarter, 1924

September 6, 1924. H. Zulliger : Notes on the psychology of grief and burial customs.

September 27, 1924. R. Brun : Clinical communications.

October 18, 1924. E. Blum-Sapas : Sublimation.

November 8, 1924. R. de Saussure : Les fonctions de l'intelligence et les instincts égocentriques.

November 22, 1924. M. Müller : The psychology of an attempt at murder, with reference to the question of moral responsibility.

December 13, 1924. H. Etter : Review of *Das Trauma der Geburt.*

First Quarter, 1925.

January 17, 1925. A. Löpfe : The phantasies of a child suffering from a stammer.

February 7, 1925. H. Behn-Eschenburg: Clinical communications.

March 7, 1925. A. Peter: Essays in phantasy as a means of affording insight into the mental life of schoolchildren.

March 14, 1925. H. Meier-Müller: Psycho-therapy as practised by physicians versed in psycho-analysis and the factor of suggestion in analysis.

March 28, 1925. H. Meier-Müller: Continuations of the discussion of March 14.

List of Members, 1925

1. Dr. med. Fernando Allende, Plattenstr. 11, Zürich.
2. Dr. med. Hans Behn-Eschenburg, Nervenarzt, Küsnacht-Zürich.
3. Dr. med. Ludwig Binswanger, Sanatorium Belle-Vue, Kreuzlingen (Thurgau).
4. Dr. med. Fritz Blattner, Sekundärarzt, Kantonale Irrenanstalt Königsfelden (Aargau).
5. Dr. med. Elsa Blum-Sapas, Sonnenbergstr. 19, Bern.
6. Dr. med. Ernst Blum, Nervenarzt, Sonnenbergstr. 19, Bern.
7. Priv. Doz. Dr. med. Rudolf Brun, Nervenarzt, Theaterstr. 14, Zürich.
8. Dr. med. Hans Christoffel, Nervenarzt, Albanvorstadt 42, Basel.
9. Dr. jur. Paul Dubi, Mittlere Strasse 127, Basel.
10. Dr. med. Hedwig Etter, Schönbergstr. 9, Zürich.
11. Albert Furrer, Lehrer an der Kinderbeobachtungsstation Stephansburg-Burghölzli, Uetikon a.S. (Zürich).
12. Dr. med. Emma Fürst, Nervenarzt, Apollostr. 21, Zürich.
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